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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

WE have been asked by the honorary secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Historical Association to make in these columns, on behalf of the Association, the following announcement:

Since the arrangement was completed whereby the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW was to be sent to all members of the Canadian Historical Association who were in good standing, an arrangement has been made also between the Canadian Historical Association and the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, whereby members of the Association who receive the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW may receive also the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* by paying an additional sum of \$1.00 per annum—that is, by paying \$4.00 instead of \$3.00 as their annual dues to the Association. Those who signify to the honorary secretary-treasurer of the Association, in care of the University of Toronto, their intention of availing themselves of this offer will receive the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* from the beginning of the year; and the additional amount owing by them will be included in the annual bills for membership dues.

It is only fitting that we should add that those English-speaking members of the Association who have any facility in reading French would be well advised to avail themselves of the offer of the Association without delay. The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* is a monthly journal of historical research which has been published by Mr. P. G. Roy, the archivist of the province of Quebec, without interruption for nearly thirty-two years.

It is a mine of information about the history of New France and of the province of Quebec in particular; and it has a distinct resemblance to that well-known and valuable English journal, *Notes and Queries*. No serious student of Canadian history can afford to neglect it.

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The fact that the leading article in this number of the REVIEW is by the managing Editor of the REVIEW makes it desirable to explain once more that the Board of Editors of this journal are not to be held responsible for opinions expressed in contributed articles. The paper in question is merely the enunciation of an individual opinion; and is in no sense an editorial pronouncement. It is, indeed, not certain that all the members of the Board of Editors are in accord with the views expressed in the paper; though they are all, without question, in favour of giving expression to sincere and considered views, whether wholly in agreement with them or not.

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Of the remaining contributions to this number of the REVIEW, the paper on "*Taxation without Representation*" is by the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell, a judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario, and the study of *The Personnel of the Family Compact* is by Miss Alison Ewart and Miss Julia Jarvis, both of whom have been for the past year associated with the REVIEW as assistants to the editor. Under the heading of "Notes and Documents", Mr. John Forsyth, the archivist and librarian of the province of British Columbia, prints with some prefatory notes *The Last Letter of Captain James Cook*; Professor A. L. Burt, of the department of history in the University of Alberta, clears up a disputed point in regard to the period of military rule in Canada; and Mr. Percy J. Robinson, classical master in St. Andrew's College, Toronto, raises an interesting question with regard to the seizure of New Amsterdam by the English in 1664.

## SOME VICES OF CLIO

THERE have recently come from the press two books which will provide much matter for thought among those who are interested in present-day tendencies in historical study, especially in Canada and the United States. The first of these is *The Art of History* (London, 1926), by Professor J. B. Black, formerly of the department of history in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, and now professor of modern history in the University of Sheffield; and the second is *The Art of Thought* (London, 1926), by that dean of English political thinkers, Professor Graham Wallas, of London University.

Professor Black's book is a study of the work of four eighteenth-century historians—Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. But it is more than this. It is an attempt to bring the historians of to-day back to the ideals which actuated the historians of the Age of Enlightenment. "The motive lying behind the entire essay," confesses the author, "is that the intimate union of literature, philosophy, and history, so amply demonstrated in the writings of Voltaire and his 'school,' is not merely an ideal of the eighteenth century, but one which bears validity for all time. Or, more explicitly, history devoid of philosophic and literary interest, which concerns itself only with the establishment of the fact, however scientifically handled, has always seemed to the writer to be blind of an eye and lame of gait: a study, in short, of contracting horizons and diminishing cultural value" (p. vii). And he expresses the hope that "when the humanist has come into his own once more, we shall see the subject, freed from excessive subserviency to 'science', rise again to the commanding position it held in the days of Voltaire and Gibbon—the indispensable passport of every educated person, and a social force of the first magnitude" (p. vii).

In developing this thesis, Professor Black deals the so-called "scientific" school of historians some shrewd blows. "The facts of history," he reminds us, "are infinite; and if, as a French historian assures us, they are 'everything', the labour of collecting and interpreting them becomes infinite also. In fact, there is presented to us the impressive spectacle of whole armies of col-

laborators grappling with the great historical synthesis of the future, and the individual sinking into comparative insignificance. And a question naturally suggests itself. Assuming that the final synthesis will be achieved—at present it is a matter of faith—may we presume that it will be, not only comprehensive, but readable and compassable as well? If so, who will read, comprehend, and compass it? In the eighteenth century, the study of history was well within the scope of every educated person; to-day it is written by specialists primarily for specialists" (p. 5). And again: "It seems scarcely conceivable that the last word on any event can be merely a record *de ce qui était*; such a record, out of touch with contemporary life, must always be barren, dead, and valueless. Perhaps we may hazard the opinion that 'History for history's sake', like the corresponding formula, 'Art for art's sake', is one of those hot-house growths which flourish only in the unreal atmosphere of institutions that are themselves out of touch with realities" (p. 6). Professor Black makes no attempt to minimize the advances made in historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "The vast apparatus of research, the steady multiplication of reliable documents, the continuous sub-division of labour—all this is irrefragably established; and no one in his sane senses would for a moment think of asking that it should be altered, any more than he would advocate a return to the age of the handmill or the hour-glass" (p. 13). "All that is suggested is that the pragmatic note might, with advantage, be more explicit than it is in the histories that are being written to-day. There is, in short, a need for the reintegration of history and philosophy; and the reintegration ought, this time, to come from the historian's side rather than the philosopher's" (p. 14).

Professor Graham Wallas, in his new book, does not attack especially the problems of the historian, except in so far as they are common to all those who practise "the art of thought". "The lives of the consulting chemist, the consulting accountant, the historian, the novelist, the judge, and the philosopher are in many ways unlike each other, but they are all like each other in being instances of the specialized occupation of professed thought" (p. 292). Yet no historian can dip into his suggestive and inspiring pages without extracting much that will, *mutatis mutandis*, be to him of incalculable service. Of particular interest is his chapter on the "stages of control" in thought. He does not confine these to the stages of Preparation and Verification with



which, it is to be feared, too many historical writers are content; but he adds the intervening stages of "Incubation" and "Illumination". "At the Incubation stage we can consciously arrange, either to think on other subjects than the proposed problem, or to rest from any form of conscious thought . . . . If we are consciously to control the Illumination stage we must include in it the 'fringe-conscious' psychological events which precede and accompany the 'flash' of illumination, and which may be called Intimation" (p. 11). And in regard to these stages of thought he utters some pregnant words. "I am told," he says, "that the thought-processes used in nearly all American secondary schools, and during the collegiate years of nearly all American universities, as well as in many of the English publicly-supported secondary schools, belong mainly to the stages of thought which I have called Preparation and Verification, and that in these institutions a clever boy may go without reproach through his whole course, with little or no fully conscious experience of the more vitally important processes of Illumination and Intimation" (p. 245). Is it possible that this indictment may sometimes apply to the work carried on, not only in the undergraduate, but also in the graduate schools of history in American and Canadian universities?

However this may be, it cannot be denied that both these books raise questions of primary and far-reaching importance in regard to tendencies in historical study to-day, and particularly in historical study as carried on in American and Canadian universities. Generalizations, as every historian knows, are both difficult and dangerous to make; but sometimes they must be made. If one were to generalize concerning present-day historiographical tendencies, one might be justified in saying that they are summed up in the ideals that underlie the degree of doctor of philosophy. This degree is at once the goal of the student's ambition, and his passport to academic life. There are, it is true, universities which do not demand the possession of a Ph.D. degree as a *sine quâ non* in applicants for academic appointments (and these universities are, curiously enough, as a rule the older and stronger); but there appears to be almost everywhere a tendency to regard this degree as a *desideratum*, and in many universities to regard it frankly as an essential, in those who teach the art of history. Indeed, the statement has been made that the recent adoption by British universities of courses leading to the Ph.D. degree was partly the result of pressure from American, and particularly Canadian, sources. A degree held in such high

estimation may not unfairly be taken as a touchstone of present-day tendencies.

For the estimation in which the degree is held in academic circles there are sound reasons. As a rule, it is granted only after two or three years' work in primary, as well as secondary, sources; and it has given rise to a generation of historical scholars who are not content with facile generalities or traditional views. The student who strives to add something, however small, to the sum of human knowledge is a better man than the student who seeks only, however gracefully or brilliantly, to perpetuate the errors of the past. There is no refuge but in truth; and the professional historians of to-morrow are being taught to hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may. There is also evident in the average Ph.D. thesis an *apparatus criticus* such as few historians of the past have had at their disposal. Authorities are properly (if too copiously) cited; bibliographical references are in a form approved by modern library science; facts have been tested and card-indexed and are given their proper weight and place. Above all, Lord Strafford's motto of "Thorough" has, in another sense, been adopted by the historical student of to-day; and the average doctoral dissertation leaves no stone unturned to get at the truth, and frequently it turns over as well a good many pebbles. That this is a gain, no one who is conversant with the work of the historians of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even nineteenth centuries can deny.

And yet the Ph.D. theses of to-day leave a great deal to be desired. Though most of them have, under the terms imposed by the universities granting the degree, been printed and published, there is not one—so far as the observation of the present writer goes—which can, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as a "great book." They all belong to what De Quincey called "the literature of knowledge" as opposed to "the literature of power." The late Lord Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* was originally an academic dissertation, but it was conceived in a school very different from that of which the average Ph.D. thesis is a product. Apart from this, one finds it difficult to think of any book published by a graduate student in British, American, or Canadian universities which "the world will not willingly let die." Young poets, young novelists, and young dramatists have written stuff that will "live forever"; but apparently not young historians trained in the graduate schools of modern universities.

It is worth while inquiring why this is so. One is loath to be dogmatic; but one ventures to raise the question whether, on the whole, the historians of to-day have not lost the art of telling a story. Herodotus, the father of history, was a story-teller; and every great historian since his time has been a story-teller, in greater or less degree. The story may be simple or involved; but it is none the less a story, and in it the facts fall into their proper place and perspective. The Anglo-Saxon chronicler was not a story-teller; he merely gave the story-teller the facts from which he might draw. Perhaps the modern doctor of philosophy is also not a story-teller, but is content to provide the facts of which the story-teller may make use. If so, his ambition is less than it ought to be. Story-telling is a branch of literature; and the historian who abdicates the function of story-teller, places himself outside the pale of literature.

The average Ph.D. thesis, moreover, has, as the French say, the defects of its qualities. It is well to add something to the sum of human knowledge; but this does not mean that one should drag from oblivion solid phalanxes of meaningless and unimportant facts. It is well to cite authorities; but this does not mean that one should annotate every statement, or give the source of every chance quotation. Indeed, nothing damns a book so quickly as excessive and indiscriminate annotation and citation of authorities: one might as well bring the kitchen utensils into the dining-room. Lastly, it is well to be thorough and exhaustive; but this does not mean that one should narrow the field in which one is working until it becomes insignificant. The graduate schools of history are not perhaps so guilty in this respect as some other graduate schools one might mention. They do not set youthful enthusiasm at work counting the number of times certain words appear in the works of certain authors. But even in history the field assigned to a graduate student is often either not worth ploughing, or has been ploughed before. I have before me the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in progress at the chief American Universities, December, 1925*, published by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. From it one gathers that there are at present in the neighbourhood of five hundred graduate students in history pursuing the doctoral degree in the United States and Canada; and as one casts one's eye down the list of subjects on which these students are working, one is filled with a sense of the futility, the unreality, the misdirection of much in higher education in

America to-day. That a student should spend two or three years in the heyday of life exploring the history of "Higher Education for Women in Missouri" or even "The Status of the American College Professor in the Nineteenth Century"—these are actual subjects on which applicants for the degree are working—can only be described as a tragedy. The diligent exploration of any subject will, of course, provide a certain amount of mental discipline; but there are some subjects which it is not worth anyone's while spending two or three years in exploring.

In this connection one cannot help recalling the words which John Morley wrote many years ago in his *Diderot* (pp. 378-9):

It may perhaps be contended that the conception of history has, on the whole, gone back rather than advanced within the last hundred years. There have been signs in our day of its becoming narrow, pedantic, and trivial. It threatens to degenerate from a broad survey of great periods and movements of human societies into vast and countless accumulations of insignificant facts, sterile knowledge, and frivolous antiquarianism, in which the spirit of epochs is lost, and the direction, meaning, and summary of the various courses of human history all disappear.

One recalls also the complaint made a year or so ago by the Editor of the *American Historical Review* when, in reporting the Richmond meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1924 (Vol. XXX, No. 3), he referred to "the zeal of the specialist clamoring that his particular division or brand or by-path of history should be 'recognized'", and asked: "But is this zeal for the promotion of specialists defensible on intellectual grounds? American historical scholars, especially those devoted to American history, pretty certainly specialize too much, in proportion to the time they spend in wide reading in the broad fields."

Postgraduate education is notoriously expensive; and one is justified in asking whether the money spent on this sort of postgraduate education is not wasted. There is a growing disposition on the part of the public to question the large expenditures made for higher education in America; and perhaps in regard to some aspects of higher education these questions are not without point. Nor is it only the man in the street who doubts the value of the work done in the modern university. No less acute a thinker than Mr. H. G. Wells has recently declared in the *Cosmopolitan* magazine that "all the antiquated nonsense of calling

people bachelors and masters and doctors of arts and sciences might very well go, with the gowns and hoods that recall some mediaeval alchemist or inquisitor, into limbo. They mean nothing. There is no presumption that a man who has the diploma, or whatever they call it, of M.A., is even a moderately educated man." And again: "The upper schools and universities of our world already betray themselves for an imposture . . . . A time must come when Oxford and Cambridge, Yale and Harvard, will signify no more in the intellectual life of the world than the monastery of Mount Athos or the lamaseries of Tibet do now, when their colleges will stand empty and clean for the amateur of architecture and the sightseeing tourist." One is fain to believe that this is an extreme, prejudiced, and partisan view; but when one finds statements such as these propounded by one of the outstanding writers of the day, and featured in a periodical read by many hundreds of thousands of people, it is time for the modern university to take stock of its position and its methods. And there is no reason why the professors of history in modern universities should feel less disquiet than professors of language, or literature, or natural science, or agriculture.

Fortunately, the student of Canadian history has behind him a great tradition. At the fountain-head of Canadian historiography stands the illustrious figure of Francis Parkman. No suppliant for the Ph.D. degree ever had a greater veneration than Parkman for the original documents, or for the evaluation of authorities, or for the science of bibliography. But, with his superb command of the apparatus of scholarship, he preserved also the immemorial art of telling a story. With science he combined imagination. In Professor Graham Wallas's phrases, he was not content to confine his thought-processes to the stages of "preparation" and "verification", but he had a just appreciation of the importance in writing history of the stages of "intimation" and "illumination". Like Professor Black's eighteenth-century historians, he refused to divorce history from literature; but, unlike them, he had at his finger-tips the scientific methods of the nineteenth century.

If students of Canadian history can retain, or recover, the Parkman tradition, they need have no fear for the future.

W. S. WALLACE

"TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION": AN  
ECHO OF JULY 4, 1776

IT was argued before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario—*quorum pars fui*—that "taxation without representation is unconstitutional": the Court—*me loquente*—said "this maxim is profoundly true . . . . but we must carefully distinguish the meaning of the word 'unconstitutional' in British and in American usage. In our usage that is unconstitutional which is opposed to the principles, more or less vaguely and generally stated, upon which we think the people should be governed; in the American sense, it is that which transgresses the written document called the 'Constitution'. With us anything unconstitutional is wrong, though it may be legal; with them it is illegal though it may be right. Accordingly to say that a measure is 'unconstitutional' does not with us indicate anything as to its legality" (*Bell versus Town of Burlington* (1915) 34 Ont. Law Reports, 619, at p. 622).

As it is elsewhere put: "No one doubts that if the Electoral College in 1912 had elected Mr. Taft, the election would have been legal and 'constitutional' in the United States sense, but it would have been 'unconstitutional' in the Canadian (British) sense. 'It isn't done.'" (Blumenthal Lectures (1923), Columbia University, p. 7).

For more than four centuries the principle was deeply embedded in the constitution of England that no tax should be levied on the people without their consent given through their representatives; and for more than half a century the American colonies had been urging this principle on the governing body at Westminster before the determination was finally taken to enforce it by arms in independence.

The principle was, perhaps, insisted upon in the colonies not to obtain representation, but to avoid taxation. A presentation of the same principle, but with the opposite intention—to obtain representation, not to avoid taxation—was made in Detroit nearly twenty years after the Declaration of Independence.

This hitherto unknown incident appears from a document recently unearthed by the archivist of the province of Ontario.



To understand it fully requires a little excursion into the early history of this province. The well-known Quebec Act (1774), 14 George III, C. 83, brought into the province of Quebec the vast expanse of British territory as far south as the Ohio and as far west as the Mississippi, including the present state of Michigan. When by the Treaty of Paris, 1783, the independence of the United States was acknowledged, and what had been British territory in North America was divided, the new nation was allotted all to the right of the middle line of the Great Lakes and connecting rivers. But Great Britain retained possession of what is now Michigan (and other territory), giving as the reason that the United States had not implemented the agreement of Article IV of the Treaty "that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to recovery . . . of all bona fide debts . . . ."

When in 1791 the enormous province of Quebec created by the Quebec Act was divided into two provinces, the province of Upper Canada and the province of Lower Canada, the former took in, *de facto*, Michigan (as well as part of the territory east of the Niagara River.)

The Canada, or Constitutional, Act (1791), 31 George III, C. 31, which provided for the government of the two new provinces, directed that there should be in each a legislature of two houses, the Legislative Council appointed by the Crown, and the Legislative Assembly elected from time to time by the people. The governor or lieutenant-governor was to divide the province into counties, etc., and allot the representatives. For Upper Canada there were not fewer than sixteen representatives.

Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, by his proclamation at Kingston, on July 16, 1792, divided the province into nineteen counties, of which the seventeenth and eighteenth were the counties of Suffolk and Essex, on the north shore of Lake Erie, Suffolk (now no longer in existence) being east of Essex. He did not venture beyond the line of the Treaty of Paris, and form a county or part of a county beyond the river. He gave the following geographical description:

That the eighteenth of the said counties be hereafter called by the name of the county of Essex; which county is to be bounded on the east by the county of Suffolk, on the south by Lake Erie, on the west by the river Detroit to Maisonville's Mill, from thence by a line running parallel to the river Detroit and Lake St. Clair, at the distance of four miles, until it meets the river La Tranche



or Thames, thence up the said river to the northwest boundary of the county of Suffolk.

Essex and Suffolk were to have a member of the House of Assembly: but no one west of the Detroit River was in any constituency or had a vote. *Hinc illae lacrymae*.

But Michigan was in Upper Canada. While Secretary Dundas doubted the expediency of settling strangers at Detroit when there was a doubt of its being really British territory, he repudiated the idea that the settlers in that district were not beyond any doubt subject to the laws of the province (see his dispatch to Simcoe, October 2, 1793; Canadian Archives, Q. 279, 1, p. 251), and Simcoe was indignant that the contrary should have even been suggested (Simcoe's dispatch to Dundas, February 28, 1794; Canadian Archives, Q. 280, 1, p. 106).

Lord Dorchester had in 1788 divided the territory into four districts, of which the most western, the district of Hesse, contained Michigan *de facto*: the name of the district of Hesse was changed to the Western district in the first session of the first parliament of Upper Canada by the Act (1792) 32 George III, C. 8 (U.C.), the position of Michigan remaining in law and in fact unchanged.

In each district there were not only courts but also a gaol, and the same Act directed that a gaol and court-house should be erected in each district, that for the Western district "as near the present court-house as conveniently may be" (*i.e.*, in L'Assomption, now Sandwich, Ontario). These were to be built by the justices of the peace of the district meeting in the court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. The statute of the following year (1793), 33 George III, C. 3 (U.C.), authorized the levying of rates, *inter alia*, "to make provision for defraying the expenses of building a court-house and gaol".

The property owners west of the Detroit and St. Clair Rivers were not exempt. The court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace met four times a year for the trial of non-capital crimes; the judges were such of the justices of the peace as attended with an elected chairman; the trials were by a petit jury after a true bill found by a grand jury, generally composed of men of standing in the community.

By the Act of (1793) 33 George III, C. 6, (U.C.) the court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the Western district was to be holden in the town of Detroit on the second Tuesday of January, April, July and October. At the court held in Detroit

in April, 1795, the grand jury made a presentment which is the occasion of this paper.

According to English practice the grand jury have the right to state to the court and through the court to the administration any facts and make recommendations in respect of matters of importance to the public welfare. We Canadian judges, generally, warn the grand jury not to include in their presentment anything of a political nature, and if anything of the kind should appear we should refuse to accept it. In the past, however, the rule was not so strictly adhered to, instances being known of judges receiving flagrantly partisan addresses.

With the following little fault can be found:

PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA  
WESTERN DISTRICT

THE GRAND JURORS for our Sovereign  
LORD THE KING, PRESENT

THAT, sundry Sums of Money under the denomination of Court Fees have from time to time been Exacted, and Paid by Persons, Prosecuting for the recovery of Debts, &ca, in his Majestys Court of Common Pleas, for the Western District, formerly the District of Hesse, Which sums of Money so Collected Accumulated and Deposited, in the hands of the First Judge (William Dummer Powell, Esquire) of Said Court, towards defraying the Expences of Errecting and Building Court Houses, Prisons, &ca within the aforesaid District.

THAT, in Consideration of the inability of the Inhabitants of this Country to support the Necessary Expenditures established by Law, They urge the necessity; That immediate application be made by the Worshipful Bench, to the Executive Officer of the Crown, in Order that the Public Property so Deposited, may be refunded, and applied to the purposes aforesaid.

THAT it is Consistant with the Law and Liberty of all his Majestys Subjects; That no Subject can be Constrained to Pay any Aids or Taxes even for the Defence of the Realm, or the support of Government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or by that of His Representatives in Parliament. And Whereas The Inhabitants of the Rivers Sinclair, Raison & Huron, are actually or should be Assessed, or Taxed, as Others his Majestys Liege Subjects within the Province of Upper Canada: They should also be equally entitled to a free Representation, Which They have heretofore, not been considered as entitled to, from and on Account,

of the Line of Limitation, and the Tenor on which they hold Their Lands—They therefore recommend to the Worshipful Bench, The propriety and absolute necessity, of easing the minds of such his Majesty's Subjects, residing at the above Mentioned Places, by adopting such Measures as to entitle Them to such Privileges and Immunities as all other his Majesty's Subjects enjoy and boast of, as Their Inherent right.

Jury Room, Detroit,  
Day of April, 1795

(signed) I. SCHIEFFELIN  
JAMES THOMPSON  
JACOB HARSEN  
JAS. McDONNELL  
WM. SHEPHERD  
J. BTE BARY  
WM. HANDS  
ANTOINE LARADIE  
JOSEPH RIGET  
JOHN MCGREGOR  
JAS. FRASER  
JEAN BTE CICOT  
JOHN MARTIN

A true Copy of the Original  
filed on Record in the Office of

W. ROWE, Clk. Pe. & Sess<sup>r</sup>.

W.D.

For the complete understanding of this, it should be said that in this district, as in the other three districts, there was from 1788 to 1794 a court of common pleas with full civil jurisdiction: of the court in this district the first and only judge was William Dummer Powell, a Boston Loyalist, afterwards chief justice of Upper Canada.

Though the grand jurors may not have known it, representation had already been provided for the dissatisfied Michigan tax-payers. Jay's Treaty was concluded in November, 1794, although ratification was not exchanged until October, 1795. The United States agreed to pay the debts, and Great Britain to surrender the territory. By August, 1796, the transfer of possession was complete: those who so chose could remain in Michigan, and becoming American citizens could vote as such, while those who desired to live under the Old Flag could pass over the river and vote as Canadians.

But "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

## THE PERSONNEL OF THE FAMILY COMPACT, 1791-1841

IT is astonishing to discover how little is known of the actual personnel of the "Family Compact," so called, which governed Upper Canada from 1791 to 1841, through the medium of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Although lists have been published of the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Lower Canada, and of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, no list of the Executive and Legislative Councilors of Upper Canada has ever been compiled; and historians have both upheld and condemned the "Family Compact" without knowing very much about those who composed it. It has happened, in fact, that even outstanding members of these Councils, such as the Hon. George Markland, have been veiled in an obscurity unwarranted by the passing of little more than a century; and many of the less important members have remained merely "Our Trusty and Well-beloved Subjects", their lives unrecorded, their personalities forgotten.

In recovering information about the personnel of the "Family Compact", the difficulties encountered have been not inconsiderable. In the first place, the casual business methods of that day created inevitable confusion in the records; in the second place, many of the files of government were destroyed during the occupation of York in 1813; and finally, all the original minutes of the Legislative Council have been burned, and there are many gaps even in the printed transcripts in the Ontario Archives. The Executive Council minutes, which have never been printed, are, it is true, practically complete in manuscript in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa. In addition to consulting these, and the Q series of the Colonial Office records, we have searched for biographical material not only the more obvious sources, but also local and county histories, papers and records of the various historical societies, special histories and biographies of the period, almanacs and calendars, and even contemporary newspapers.

The dates of commissions of the executive councillors have been especially difficult to unearth. Sometimes the commission arrived months after the member had been sworn in "until the King's pleasure shall be known." Occasionally no commission

appears to have been issued, the member being apparently unwilling to expend the necessary £20. or more, and petitioning to be relieved of this burden. Moreover, an executive councillor was sometimes commissioned as an honorary member, which meant that he received no salary. Later he might be appointed a regular councillor with remuneration. And occasionally a regular councillor, as in the case of Æneas Shaw, resigned his regular membership together with his fees, and became an honorary councillor.

There appears to have been no established rule, system, or precedent whereby the members of the councils were chosen. As a general rule, recommendations for appointments were forwarded by the lieutenant-governor to the Colonial Office, and mandamuses were issued by the Crown. Sometimes, however, appointments were made by the lieutenant-governor himself, warrants issued, and members sworn on the same day. A member might belong simultaneously to the Executive Council and to the Legislative Council or the Legislative Assembly. This resulted in the curious anomaly that a meeting which began as a legislative council meeting might break up into its component parts and emerge as a meeting of the Executive Council. On the other hand, a member of one Council was not necessarily a member of the other. There were eleven executive councillors who did not belong to the Legislative Council; though the strong influence of the executive in the Legislative Council was always a grievance with the "reformers". The Executive Council, moreover, did not in any way correspond to a cabinet, with each member holding office. At least seven executive councillors had no other official post under the government. The same member could, however, hold at the same time several official appointments, and not infrequently an executive councillor was the head of a department of the executive government. That there was a limit to the number of offices that one man might occupy was demonstrated in 1807, when an objection was made to John McGill holding three appointments at once; and again in 1831, when a change in the policy of the administration resulted in the resignation of John Beverley Robinson from the Executive Council, "His Majesty's government being of the opinion that the chief justice should not take his seat at the council by virtue of his office."

Although a quorum in the Legislative Council consisted of only the Speaker and three members, and in the Executive

Council of three members, in both Councils there was the same difficulty in securing a quorum at meetings. This was due largely to bad roads, lack of communication, the various occupations of the councillors, with which their governmental duties appear to have interfered very little, and the apparently fortuitous method of meeting. The result was an amazingly small number of men in control of the government, "when the sickness of a single member could stop the business of the whole country." In 1792 Osgoode, Grant, and Russell carried on almost the entire business of the Executive Council; and in 1814, in the Legislative Council, the Speaker, Cartwright, and Claus, although not a quorum, met regularly for an entire session, and during this time passed nineteen Acts. Several times the Rev. John Strachan attended by himself, and it is interesting to note that on these occasions the venerable gentleman, with all due solemnity, formally adjourned the meeting.

We are very grateful for the help we received at the Archives in Ottawa, particularly from Mr. Francis J. Audet; and at the Reference Library in Toronto. If any of the readers of the REVIEW can help us to fill in what blanks still remain in the details of the following lists, we shall be very glad.

ALISON EWART

JULIA JARVIS

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1. LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF UPPER CANADA,  
1791-1841.

ALLAN, WILLIAM

Born near Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1770; died in Toronto, in 1853; appointed by Sir F. Bond Head on March 14, 1836, "until the King's pleasure shall be known"; sworn on March 17, 1836; a member of the Council until the union of 1841; not re-appointed to the Executive Council of United Canada; about 1800, postmaster and collector of customs at York (Toronto).

ALLCOCK, HENRY

Date of birth unknown; died in Quebec, on February 22, 1808; commissioned in the spring or early summer of 1802; sworn on October 14, 1802; ceased to act in September, 1804; on November 30, 1798, appointed a judge of the Court of King's bench for Upper Canada; on October 7, 1802, appointed chief justice for Upper Canada; on July 1, 1805, appointed chief justice for Lower Canada.

BABY, JACQUES DUFERRON or JAMES

Born in Detroit, in 1762; died in York (Toronto), on February 19, 1833; commissioned in 1792; sworn on July 9, 1792; attended meetings until a week before his death; from 1815 to 1833, inspector general of provincial accounts.

**BALDWIN, AUGUSTUS**

Born in Ireland, on October 1, 1776; died in Toronto, on January 5, 1866; appointed by Sir F. Bond Head on March 14, 1836, until the King's pleasure shall be known"; sworn on March 17, 1836; a member of the Council until the union of 1841; appointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841; resigned on June 16, 1841.

**BALDWIN, ROBERT**

Born in York (Toronto), on May 12, 1804; died in Toronto, on December 9, 1858; no warrant when sworn; sworn on February 20, 1836; resigned together with the whole Council in March, 1836, after a disagreement with the lieutenant-governor; in 1829, elected to the Legislative Assembly; defeated in 1830; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**BROCK, Sir ISAAC**

Born in Guernsey, on October 6, 1769; died in action at Queenston Heights, on October 13, 1812; commissioned in conformity with the additional instructions of July 13, 1811; sworn on September 30, 1811; attended no meetings after September 26, 1812; major-general commanding the forces in 1812; from October 9, 1811, to October 13, 1812, president administering the government of Upper Canada; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**CAMPBELL, Sir WILLIAM**

Born in Caithness, Scotland, in 1758; died in Toronto on January 17, 1834; date of commission unknown; sworn on October 26, 1825; ceased to act in March, 1828; on November 18, 1811, appointed to puisne judgeship in Upper Canada; on October 26, 1825, sworn in as chief justice; retired in 1829.

**CLAUS, WILLIAM**

Born in 1763; died on November 12, 1826; blank left in the minutes of the Executive Council for the warrant; sworn on February 12, 1818; ceased to act in September, 1824; in 1799 became deputy superintendent of Indian affairs.

**DRAPER, WILLIAM HENRY**

Born in London, England, on March 11, 1801; died on November 3, 1877; "called in" to the council; sworn on December 27, 1836; ceased to act in January, 1841; on March 23, 1837, appointed solicitor-general; in 1840 appointed attorney-general; from 1836 to 1840, represented Toronto in the Legislative Assembly; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**DRUMMOND, Sir GORDON**

Born in Quebec, in 1771; died in London, England, on October 10, 1854; commissioned in conformity with the additional instructions of July 13, 1811; particular order from the adjutant-general's office dated November 4, 1813; sworn on December 13, 1813; ceased to act in March, 1814; from December 13, 1813 to 1815, president administering the government of Upper Canada; from 1815 to 1816, administrator of Canada; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**DUNN, JOHN HENRY**

Date of birth unknown; died in London, England, on April 21, 1854; no warrant when sworn; sworn on February 20, 1836; resigned in three weeks; receiver-general of Upper Canada.

**ELMSLEY, JOHN**

Born in Middlesex, England, in 1762; died in Montreal, on April 29, 1805; commissioned on January 1, 1796; sworn on November 24, 1796; ceased to act in July, 1802; from 1796 to 1802, chief justice of Upper Canada; in 1802, transferred to Lower Canada.



**ELMSLEY, JOHN**

Son of the preceding. Born in 1801; died in 1863; commissioned on September 20, 1830; sworn on May 5, 1831; did not appear after November 15, 1833, until March 14, 1836, when appointed by Sir F. Bond Head "until the King's plea ure shall be known"; sworn March 17, 1836; expelled from the Council in 1838 on account of some dereliction of duty (see despatches No. 40 and No. 152, February 22 and July 3, 1838).

**GRANT, ALEXANDER**

Born in Inverness-shire, Scotland, in 1734; died at Grosse Pointe, Lake St. Clair, in May, 1813; nominated on July 9, 1792; sworn on July 11, 1792; attended no meetings after August, 1812; from September 11, 1805 to August 25, 1806, president and administrator of the government of Upper Canada.

**MACAULAY, SIR JAMES BUCHANAN**

Born in Niagara, on December 3, 1793; died in Toronto, on November 26, 1859; educated under John Strachan; commissioned on May 5, 1825; sworn on June 27, 1826; ceased to act after July, 1829; in August, 1829, appointed a judge of the court of king's bench; in 1849, became chief justice of the court of common pleas. Not a member of the Legislative Council. Knighted in 1859.

**MCGILL, JOHN**

Born in Auckland, Wigtonshire, Scotland, in March, 1752; died in York (Toronto), on December 31, 1834; commissioned on March 2, 1796; sworn on June 18, 1796, as an executive councillor extraordinary; on October 8, 1808, succeeded Aeneas Shaw as an ordinary member; did not appear after August 13, 1818; on August 18, 1801, appointed inspector-general and comptroller of accounts; in 1813 appointed receiver-general; retired in 1822.

**MARKLAND, GEORGE HERCHMER or HERKIMER**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained; commissioned on October 2, 1822 as an honorary member, and on July 6, 1827, as a regular member; sworn on December 24, 1823; resigned together with the whole council in March, 1836.

**MOUNTAIN, JACOB**

Born in Norfolk, England, on December 30, 1749; died in Quebec, on June 16, 1825; commissioned on June 30, 1794; sworn on August 17, 1799; never appeared at a meeting; first Anglican bishop of Quebec.

**OSGOODE, WILLIAM**

Born in England, in March, 1754; died in London, England, on January 17, 1824; sworn on July 9, 1792; ceased to act in July, 1794; in 1792, appointed the first chief justice of Upper Canada; removed to Lower Canada as chief justice in 1794.

**POWELL, WILLIAM DUMMER**

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1755; died in Toronto, on September 6, 1834; sworn on October 8, 1808; ceased to act in October, 1825; in 1794, appointed a judge of the court of king's bench in Upper Canada; from 1816 to 1825, chief justice of Upper Canada; retired in 1825.

**ROBERTSON, WILLIAM**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained; settled at Detroit in 1782, engaging in business as a merchant; nominated on July 9, 1792; not sworn and did not sit; in 1788, appointed one of the justices of the court of common pleas; settled in England about 1792, and does not appear to have returned to Canada again.

**ROBINSON, Sir JOHN BEVERLEY, Bart.**

Born in Berthier, Lower Canada, on July 26, 1791; died in Toronto, on January 30, 1863; educated under John Strachan; commissioned on April 25, 1829; sworn on August 3, 1829; resigned on January 25, 1831, "his majesty's government being of the opinion that the chief justice should not take his seat at the council by virtue of his office"; in 1813, appointed acting attorney-general of the province; on February 13, 1815, appointed solicitor-general; in 1818, appointed attorney-general; from 1821 to 1829 a member of the Legislative Assembly; in 1830, appointed chief justice.

**ROBINSON, PETER**

Born in New Brunswick, in 1785; died in Toronto, on July 8, 1838; commissioned on July 5, 1827; sworn on December 24, 1823; attended no meetings after March 10, 1836; on August 30, 1827, appointed commissioner of crown lands and surveyor-general of woods; held this office until 1836; elected a member of the Legislative Assembly in 1817.

**ROLPH, JOHN**

Born on March 4, 1793; died on October 19, 1870; no warrant when sworn; sworn on February 20, 1836; resigned together with the whole council in March, 1836; from 1824 to 1830 and from 1836 to 1837 a member of the Legislative Assembly; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**ROTTENBURG, Baron FRANCIS DE**

Date of birth not ascertained; died in Portsmouth, England, on April 24, 1832; commissioned in conformity to the additional instructions of July 13, 1811; sworn June 19, 1813; attended no meetings; commander of the forces in Upper Canada in 1813; president administering the government of Upper Canada from June 19, 1813 to December 13, 1813; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**RUSSELL, PETER**

Born in Cork, Ireland, in 1733; died in York (Toronto) on September 30, 1808; sworn on July 9, 1792; attended no meetings after August, 1808; in 1791, he was appointed receiver-general and auditor-general; from 1796 to 1799, he was president and administrator of the government of Upper Canada.

**SCOTT, THOMAS**

Born in Scotland, in 1746; died in Toronto, on July 28, 1824; commissioned on April 8, 1805 by the lieutenant-governor "until his Majesty's pleasure is signified"; sworn on April 10, 1805; did not appear after August, 1816; from 1801 to 1806, attorney-general of Upper Canada; on August 14, 1806, took oaths as chief justice of Upper Canada; held office of chief justice until 1816.

**SELBY, PRIDEAUX**

Date of birth unknown; died on May 9, 1813; sworn on October 8, 1808; ceased to act in April, 1813; held offices of auditor-general and receiver-general; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**SHAW, ÆNEAS**

Born in Scotland; died near York, on February 15, 1815; sworn on June 21, 1794; in 1803 ceased to be a regular member, though he remained an honorary councillor until 1807.

**SHEAFFE, Sir ROGER HALE**

Born in Boston, on July 15, 1763; died on July 17, 1851; commissioned in conformity to the additional instructions of July 13, 1811; sworn on October 20, 1812; attended no meetings after June 4, 1813; commander of the forces in Upper

Canada in 1812 and 1813; president administering the government of Upper Canada from October 20, 1812 to June 19, 1813; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**SMITH, Sir DAVID WILLIAM, Bart.**

Born in England on September 4, 1764; died on May 9, 1837; commissioned on March 2, 1796; sworn on June 27, 1796; ceased to act in July, 1802; in 1794, acting surveyor-general; in 1804 resigned surveyor-generalship; in 1792 and 1796, elected to the Legislative Assembly; speaker of the second and third parliaments of Upper Canada; not a member of the Legislative Council. Created a baronet in 1821.

**SMITH, SAMUEL**

Born in Hempstead, New York, on December 27, 1756; died on October 20, 1826; commissioned on November 30, 1813; sworn on October 14, 1815; ceased to act in October, 1825; from June 11, 1817, to August 13, 1818, and from March 8, 1820 to June 30, 1820, administrator of the government of Upper Canada; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**STRACHAN, JOHN**

Born in Aberdeen, Scotland, on April 12, 1778; died in Toronto on November 2, 1867; commissioned on May 31, 1815; sworn on September 28, 1815, as an honorary member; on February 12, 1818, appointed to the executive council as a regular member with his appointment dated July 25, 1817; the last meeting which he attended was in November, 1835; resigned in 1836. First Anglican bishop of Toronto.

**SULLIVAN, ROBERT BALDWIN**

Born in Bandon, near Cork, in Ireland, on May 24, 1802; died on April 14, 1853; appointed by Sir F. Bond Head on March 14, 1836, "until the King's pleasure shall be known"; sworn on March 17, 1836; a member of the Council until the union of 1841; appointed to the Executive Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841; in 1835 elected mayor of Toronto; in 1839, commissioner of crown lands and surveyor-general.

**TUCKER, RICHARD ALEXANDER**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained; commissioned on November 5, 1839; sworn on December 8, 1838; a member of the Council until the union of 1841; not a member of the Legislative Council.

**WELLS, JOSEPH**

Born on June 19, 1757 (Morgan), 1773 (Chadwick); died in Davenport, near Toronto, on February 4, 1853; commissioned on September 13, 1830; sworn on April 7, 1831; resigned together with the whole Council in March, 1836; from 1827 to 1839, bursar of King's College.

**2. LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF UPPER CANADA, 1791-1841.**

**ADAMSON, PETER**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned February 2, 1831; sworn February 3, 1831; a regular attendant until the union of the provinces in 1841; not reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada.

**ALLAN, WILLIAM**

Commissioned October 12, 1825; sworn probably in 1826; a regular attendant until the union of the provinces in 1841; not reappointed. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**ALLCOCK, HENRY**

Commissioned January 4, 1803; sworn January 27, 1803, as Speaker. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**BABY, JACQUES DUPERRON, or JAMES**

Commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn September 17, 1792; commissioned Speaker December 30, 1828; sworn January 8, 1829, and ceased to act as Speaker in 1830. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**BALDWIN, AUGUSTUS**

Commissioned January 26, 1831; sworn January 31, 1831; a regular attendant until the union of the provinces in 1841; appointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841; resigned June 16, 1841. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**BOSWELL, WALTER**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned January 29, 1831; sworn January 31, 1831; an irregular attendant until the union of the provinces in 1841; not reappointed. Lived in Cobourg, Upper Canada.

**BURNHAM, ZACCHEUS**

Born in Dunbarton, New Hampshire, on February 20, 1777; died in Cobourg in 1857; commissioned January 26, 1831; sworn January 28, 1831; attended until the union of the provinces; not reappointed. He was a member of the Assembly in 1816 for Northumberland and Durham, and in 1824 for Northumberland.

**CAMERON, DUNCAN**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned July 13, 1820; attended very regularly up to the union of the provinces. For several years he was secretary and registrar of Upper Canada.

**CAMPBELL, Sir WILLIAM**

Commissioned October 10, 1826; sworn Speaker in 1826, and attended very irregularly until 1831. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**CARTWRIGHT, RICHARD, Jr.**

Born in Albany, New York, on February 2, 1759; died in Montreal, July 27, 1815; commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn September 17, 1792; ceased to act in March, 1814. He was Speaker of the Legislative Council in 1805 and 1806.

**CLARK, THOMAS**

Born in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, in 1770; died in Chippawa, in 1837; commissioned November 16, 1815; attended regularly up to 1835.

**CLAUS, WILLIAM**

Excused from buying commission; sworn February 3, 1812; a regular attendant up to 1825. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**CROOKS, JAMES**

Born in Kilmarnock, Scotland, in 1778; died in Flamboro' West on March 2, 1860; commissioned March 16, 1831; sworn March 16, 1831; attended regularly until the union of the provinces, and was reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841.

**CROOKSHANK, GEORGE**

Born in New York City in 1763; died on July 21, 1859; commissioned January 1, 1821; sworn January 15, 1823; attended regularly until the union of the provinces; not reappointed.

**DE BLAQUIÈRE, HON. PETER BOYLE**

Born in Ireland on April 27, 1784; died in Yorkville, near Toronto, on October 23, 1860; commissioned July 16, 1839; sworn December 3, 1839; reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841.

## DICKSON, WILLIAM

Born in Dumfries, Scotland, in 1769; died in Niagara, February 19, 1846; commissioned November 16, 1815; a very regular attendant until the union of the provinces; not reappointed.

## DUNCAN, RICHARD

Born in Berwick-on-Tweed, Scotland, and came to America in 1765; died some time before the war of 1812; commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn June 17, 1793; vacated his seat by absence about 1805.

## DUNN, JOHN HENRY

Commissioned March 1, 1822; sworn January 15, 1823; a regular attendant until the union of the provinces. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

## ELMSLEY, JOHN

Commissioned December 10, 1796; sworn June 12, 1799; Speaker. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

## ELMSLEY, JOHN

Son of the preceding. Commissioned January 26, 1831; sworn January 28, 1831; not reappointed at the union of the provinces. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

## FERGUSON, ADAM

Born in Woodhill, Perthshire, Scotland, in 1782; died in Woodhill, Upper Canada, in 1862; commissioned February 27, 1839; sworn February 27, 1839; reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada.

## FRASER, ALEXANDER

Date of birth not known; died in 1854; commissioned December 3, 1839; sworn December 4, 1839; reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841. He was registrar of the county of Glengarry.

## FRASER, ISAAC

Born about 1780; died in 1858; commissioned July 16, 1839; but did not take his seat. He was a judge of the Midland district, third division, and county registrar of Addington.

## FRASER, THOMAS

Born in Scotland; date of death not ascertained. Commissioned November 16, 1815; attended between 1815 and 1819. He was a loyalist from New York, and represented Dundas in the Assembly from 1796 to 1800.

## GRAHAM, HENRY

Commissioned April 19, 1839; was not sworn, and did not sit.

## GRANT, ALEXANDER

Commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn September 17, 1792; ceased to act some time before 1808, when Gore reports him as being "too old and infirm to attend". For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

## GRANT, ALEXANDER

Son of the preceding. Born in Detroit on March 19, 1791; died in Brockville about 1865; commissioned November 19, 1831; sworn November 23, 1831; appears regularly in 1831 and 1832, and after that is marked "excused" on roll calls.

## GORDON, JAMES

Date of birth not known; died on April 10, 1865; commissioned January 8, 1829; sworn January 9, 1829; reappointed to Legislative Council of United Canada on October 4, 1845.

**HAMILTON, GEORGE**

Born in 1787, the son of Robert Hamilton (q.v.); died on March 27, 1836; commissioned January 23, 1836; did not take oath. He was the founder of Hamilton, Upper Canada.

**HAMILTON, JOHN**

Born in Queenston, Upper Canada, in 1802, the son of Robert Hamilton (q.v.); died in Kingston, on October 10, 1882; commissioned January 29, 1831; sworn January 31, 1831; reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841.

**HAMILTON, ROBERT**

Born in Scotland; died in Niagara, on March 8, 1811; commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn September 17, 1792; ceased to sit about 1805.

**JONES, CHARLES**

Born in Upper Canada in 1781; died in Brockville, August 21, 1840; commissioned January 7, 1829; sworn on January 9, 1829; ceased to attend in 1838. He was educated under John Strachan, and was a member of the Assembly for Leeds from 1821 to 1828.

**JONES, JONAS**

Brother of the preceding. Born in Elizabethtown, Upper Canada, on May 19, 1791; died at Toronto on July 8, 1848; commissioned February 7, 1839; sworn February 27, 1839, Speaker; not reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada. He was educated under John Strachan, and was a member of the Assembly for Grenville from 1816 to 1828, and for Leeds from 1836 to 1837.

**KERBY, JAMES**

Born in 1785; died at Fort Erie, on June 20, 1854; commissioned February 26, 1831; sworn February 28, 1831; not reappointed in 1841.

**KIRBY, JOHN**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned March 2, 1831; sworn March 3, 1831; a regular attendant until the union of the provinces; not reappointed in 1841. He lived in Kingston, Upper Canada.

**LLOYD, ARTHUR**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned December 6, 1831; sworn December 8, 1831; present only thirty-three times in nine years; no record of special leave granted.

**MACAULAY, JOHN**

Born in Kingston, Upper Canada, on October 17, 1792; died in 1857; commissioned January 23, 1836; sworn February 19, 1836; reappointed to Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841.

**MACAULAY, JOHN SIMCOE**

Born in England on October 13, 1791; died in England on December 20, 1855; commissioned February 9, 1839; sworn March 1, 1839; not reappointed in 1841. He was an officer in the Royal Engineers, and commanded a militia battalion in 1837.

**MCDONALD, JOHN**

Born in Saratoga, New York, on February 10, 1787; died in Gananoque in September, 1860; commissioned March 20, 1839; sworn March 22, 1839; reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841; resigned 1848.

**MACDONELL, ALEXANDER**

Born in Glen Urquhart, Scotland, on July 17, 1762; died in Dumfries, Scotland, on January 14, 1840; commissioned October 12, 1831; sworn November 21, 1831;

present at only half a dozen meetings until 1841. He was consecrated Roman Catholic bishop of Regiopolis in 1826.

**MACDONELL, ALEXANDER**

Born at Fort Augustus, Glengarry, Scotland, in 1762; died in Toronto on March 18, 1842; commissioned January 26, 1831; sworn January 27, 1831; very regular in attendance until the union of the provinces in 1841; not reappointed. He was a member of the Assembly for Glengarry from 1800 to 1812 and from 1820 to 1823, and the Speaker in 1804.

**McGILL, JOHN**

Commissioned June 10, 1797; sworn June 12, 1797; ceased to attend about 1831. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**McGILLIVRAY, JOHN**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned December 3, 1839; sworn December 6, 1839; not reappointed in 1841. He was a partner in the North West Company; and lived in the neighbourhood of Williamstown, Glengarry.

**McINTOSH, ANGUS**

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned July 11, 1820; attended irregularly from 1820 to somewhere between 1825 and 1829 (the minutes of this period are missing).

**McLEAN, ARCHIBALD**

Son of Neil McLean (q.v.). Born in St. Andrews, Upper Canada, on April 15, 1791; died in Toronto on October 24, 1865; commissioned January 23, 1836; did not appear at any meetings. He was educated under John Strachan; was member for Stormont in the Assembly from 1820 to 1834 and from 1836 to 1837, being twice elected Speaker; and appointed puisne judge of the court of Queen's bench in 1839.

**McLEAN, NEIL**

Born in Mingary, Island of Mull, in 1759; date of death not known; commissioned November 16, 1815; did not appear at any meetings for which the minutes are still in existence. He was a resident of Cornwall, and a justice of the peace for the Mecklenburgh district in 1789.

**MARKLAND, GEORGE HERCHMER or HERKIMER**

Commissioned July 14, 1820; a very regular attendant until 1838. For further details see list of executive councillors.

**MORRIS, WILLIAM**

Born in Paisley, Scotland, on October 31, 1786; died in Montreal on June 29, 1858; commissioned January 22, 1836; sworn January 25, 1836; reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841. He was a member of the Assembly for Lanark from 1820 to 1836.

**MOUNTAIN, JACOB**

Commissioned July 3, 1794; did not appear at any meetings. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**MUNRO, JOHN**

Born in Scotland in 1731; died at Dickenson's Landing in October, 1800; commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn September 17, 1792.

**NELLES, ABRAHAM**

Born on December 4, 1775, of German extraction; died on July 7, 1839; commissioned January 6, 1832; sworn January 7, 1832; appears at twelve meetings in 1832, but not again thereafter. He lived in Grimsby.



**OSGOODE, WILLIAM**

Commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn September 17, 1792, first Speaker. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**POWELL, WILLIAM DUMMER**

Commissioned March 21, 1816, as Speaker; sworn 1816; ceased to attend probably in 1828. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**RADCLIFFE, THOMAS**

Born in Castle Coote, Roscommon County, Ireland, on April 17, 1794; died at Amherst Island, Upper Canada, on June 6, 1841; commissioned February 27, 1839; sworn February 27, 1839; not reappointed in 1841.

**RIDOUT, THOMAS**

Born in Sherborne, Dorsetshire, England, on March 17, 1754; died in York (Toronto) on February 8, 1829; commissioned October 11, 1825; sworn probably in 1825. He was a member of the Assembly for East York and Simcoe county from 1812 to 1816, and was appointed surveyor-general in 1811.

**ROBERTSON, WILLIAM**

Commissioned July 12, 1792; did not take oath. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**ROBINSON, Sir JOHN BEVERLEY, Bart.**

Commissioned January 1, 1830; sworn January 8, 1830, as Speaker. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**ROBINSON, PETER**

Commissioned January 6, 1829; sworn January 9, 1829; ceased to attend after 1836. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**RUSSELL, PETER**

Commissioned July 12, 1792; sworn September 17, 1792; ceased to sit in 1808. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**SCOTT, THOMAS**

Commissioned August 7, 1806; sworn February 2, 1807, as Speaker; ceased to sit in 1824. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**SHAW, AENEAS**

Sworn June 19, 1794; ceased to sit about 1813. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**STEWART, THOMAS ALEXANDER**

Born in Ireland, came to Canada in 1822; died in September, 1847; commissioned November 20, 1833; sworn November 23, 1833; not reappointed in 1841. One of the original settlers in the county of Peterborough.

**STRACHAN, JOHN**

Commissioned July 10, 1820; sworn probably in 1820 (minutes missing); attended regularly until the union of the provinces. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**SULLIVAN, ROBERT BALDWIN**

Commissioned February 27, 1839; sworn February 27, 1839; reappointed to the Legislative Council of United Canada on June 9, 1841. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

**TALBOT, THOMAS**

Born at Castle Malahide, Dublin county, Ireland, on July 17, 1771; died in London, Upper Canada, on February 6, 1853; did not buy commission; did not take oath. He was an officer in the British Army who came to Canada as private secretary to Simcoe in 1792; and was the founder of the Talbot Settlement.

## VANKOUGHNET, PHILIP

Born in Cornwall, Upper Canada, on April 2, 1790; died on May 7, 1873; commissioned January 23, 1836; sworn March 14, 1836; not reappointed in 1841. He was a member of the Assembly for Stormont and Dundas from 1820 to 1828.

## WELLS, JOSEPH

Commissioned July 12, 1820; sworn probably in 1820 (minutes missing); not reappointed in 1841. For further particulars see list of executive councillors.

## WILKINS, ROBERT CHARLES

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned March 14, 1839; sworn March 18, 1839; not reappointed in 1841.

## WILLSON, JOHN

Dates of birth and death not ascertained. Commissioned December 11, 1839; sworn December 12, 1839; not reappointed in 1841. He was a member of the Assembly for Wentworth from 1820 to 1834, and was elected Speaker of the Assembly in 1824.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE LAST LETTER OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

MUCH has already been written on the work accomplished by Captain James Cook in the exploration of the north-west coast, and varying accounts have been given to the world as to the cause and manner in which he met his death.

There is a sentimental or curious interest attaching to the last acts done or the last words written by great men. The last letter written by General Wolfe before the battle on the Plains of Abraham is now a prized possession of Canada. So also the last letter written by one so famous in another field of endeavour may claim the interest of students of British history, and it is hoped that the following account may help to elucidate certain events which occurred just prior to Cook's death.

As an introduction to the final report from Captain Cook, and explanatory of certain incidents narrated in that document, it would appear advisable to sketch briefly his movements on the north-eastern coast of North America in 1778.

On March 7, 1778, Cook sighted the coast of New Albion, and on March 29 he anchored in Nootka Sound. After remaining here for a few weeks, during which his ships were repaired, he proceeded northward, naming islands, bays, and capes discovered on the way.

While sailing along, he kept at a safe distance from the coast, whenever the wind blew upon it, and this accounts for the gaps left unexplored. If death had not intervened, Cook would have returned the next year to explore these parts.

The first place met with after Nootka was Kaye's Island, named after the Rev. Dr. Kaye, dean of Lincoln. The ships then came to anchor in Prince William Sound, and later entered a great river afterwards named Cook's River.

On June 19, while sailing amidst a group of islands, Captain Clerke reported that he had received at the hands of a native a wooden box containing a note written in the Russian language, and that at Oonalashka another note in Russian was brought by the natives.

On July 16 Cape Newenham was sighted and named.

On August 10 Cook reached the Bay of St. Lawrence, adjoining the land of the Tschutski explored by Bering in 1728.

Proceeding to the ice fields, he explored beyond Bering Strait, but the season being too far advanced, he abandoned all attempt to find a passage. Before returning south he spent much time examining the coasts in the vicinity of Bering Straits, ascertaining the accuracy of Bering and demonstrating the errors of Staelin's map.

On October 2 he sighted the Island of Oonalashka, and anchored next day in Samganoodha Harbour, where the ships were repaired. Further evidence of the presence of the Russians in the vicinity was furnished when Cook received from an Oonalashka man named Derramoushk the present of a loaf or pie with salmon enclosed, for which a few bottles of wine, rum, and porter were exchanged.

Corporal Lediard accompanied Derramoushk to obtain information and in the event of meeting with Russians to inform them that they were friendly to their nation. Lediard returned with three Russian seamen, who with others resided at Egoochshae, where they had an establishment consisting of dwelling house and storehouses, also a sloop of thirty tons. Great difficulty was experienced in getting information from these men, owing to the lack of an interpreter.

On October 14 a prominent person among the Russians in the neighbourhood named Erasim Gregorioff Sin Ismyloff arrived at Oonalashka, and by means of signs and symbols Cook obtained much information. He copied two manuscript charts. One included the Penshinskian Sea, the coast of Tartary down to latitude  $41^{\circ}$ , the Kuril Islands, and the peninsula of Kamtschatka. The other contained all the discoveries of the Russians to the eastward of Kamtschatka towards America.

It was to Ismyloff that Cook, on October 21, entrusted what proved to be his last letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which was enclosed a chart of all the northern coasts he had visited.

It was expected that there would be an opportunity of sending this letter in the ensuing spring to Kamtschatka or Okotsk, and that it would reach St. Petersburg during the following winter.

Cook had much confidence in Ismyloff and presented him with a Hadley's octant. That Ismyloff faithfully discharged his mission is borne out by the letter here reproduced. This letter, which was the last written by Cook to the British Admiralty, and which

has never before been published, has been copied from the series of captains' letters in the Admiralty.

As to later events we learn that on October 26 Cook left Samganooodha Harbour and sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where at Karakakooa Bay he met such a tragic death on February 14, 1779.

J. FORSYTH

[*Transcript.*]

Sir,

Having accidentally met with some Russians who have promised to put this in a way of being sent to Petersburg, and as I neither have not intend to visit Kamtschatka as yet, I take this opportunity to give their Lordships a short account of my proceedings from leaving the Cape of Good Hope to this time.

After leaving the Cape I, pursuant to their Lordships' Instructions, visited the Islands lately seen by the French, situated between the Latitude of  $48^{\circ} 41'$  and  $50^{\circ}$  South and in the Longitude of  $69\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  E<sup>t</sup>. These Islands abound with good Harbours and fresh water, but produceth neither Tree nor Shrub and but very little of any other kind of vegetation. After spending five days on the Coast thereof, I quitted it on the 30th of December, just touched at Van Diemen's Land, arrived at Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand the 13th February 1777. Left it again on the 25th and pushed for Otaheite, but as we had not been long at sea before we met with an Easterly wind which continued so long that the season was too far spent to proceed to the North that year, and at length the want of water and food for the Cattle I had on board obliged me to bear away for the Friendly Islands, so that it was August before I arrived at Otaheite. I found that the Spaniards from Callao had been twice at this Island from the time of my leaving it in 1774. The first time they came they left behind them designedly, four Spaniards who remained upon the Island about two months, but were all gone some time before my arrival. They had also brought to and left on the Island, Goats, Hogs, and Dogs, one Bull, and a Ram, but never a female of either of these species, so that those I carried and put on shore there were highly acceptable. These consisted of a Bull and three Cows, a Ram and five Ewes, besides Poultry of four sorts, and a Horse and a Mare with Omai's. At the Friendly Isles I left a Bull and a Cow, a Horse and Mare, and some sheep. In which I flatter myself that the laudable intentions of the King and their Lordships have been answered.

I left Omai at Huaheine, quitted the Society Isles the 9th of December, proceeded to the North and in the Latitude of  $22^{\circ}$  N., longi-

tude 200° East, fell in with a Groupe of Islands inhabited by the same Nation as Otaheite and abounding with Hogs and Roots. After a short stay at these Islands, continued our Route for the Coast of America, which we made on the 7th of last March, and on the 29th, after enduring several storms, got into a Port in the Latitude of  $49\frac{1}{2}$ ° North. At this place, besides taking in Wood and Water, the Resolution was supplied with a new Mizzen-Mast, Fore-Topmast, and her Fore-Mast got out and repaired.

I put to Sea again the 26th April, and was no sooner out of Port, than we were attacked by a violent storm which was the occasion of so much of the Coast being passed unseen. In this Gale the Resolution sprang a Leak which obliged me to put into a Port in the Latitude of 61°, Longitude 213° East. In a few days I was again at Sea, and soon found we were on a Coast where every step was to be considered, where no information could be had from Maps either Modern or Ancient; confiding too much in the former we were frequently misled to our no small hindrance.

On an extensive Coast altogether unknown, it may be thought needless to say that we met with many obstructions before we got through the Narrow Strait that divides Asia from America, where the Coast of the latter takes a N.E. direction. I followed it flattered with the hopes of having at last overcome all difficulties, when on the 17th of August in the Latitude 70° 45', Longitude 198° East, we were stopped by an impenetrable body of Ice and had so far advanced between it and the land before we discovered it that little was wanting to force us on shore.

Finding I could no longer proceed along the Coast I tried what could be done further out, but the same obstacle everywhere presented itself, quite over to the Coast of Asia which we made on the 29th of the same month in the Latitude of 68° 55', Longitude 180 $\frac{1}{2}$ ° East. As frost and snow, the forerunners of Winter began to set in, it was thought too late in the Season to make a further Attempt for a Passage this Year in any direction, I therefore steered to the S.E. along the Coast of Asia, passed the Strait above mentioned and then stood over for the American Coast to clear up some doubts and to search, but in vain, for a Harbour to compleat our wood and water. Wood is a very scarce article in all these Northern parts; except in one place there is none upon the Sea Coast but what is thrown ashore by the Sea, some of which we got on board and then proceeded to this place where we had been before to take in water. From here I intend to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, that is those discovered in 22° North Latitude, after refreshing there, return to the North by the way of Kamtschatka, and the ensuing summer make another and final attempt to find a Northern Passage, but I must

confess I have little hopes of succeeding; Ice, though an obstacle not easily surmounted is not the only one in the way. The Coasts of the two Continents is flat for some distance off and even in the middle between the two the depth of water is inconsiderable; this, and some other circumstances all tending to prove that there is more land in the Frozen Sea than as yet we know of, where the Ice has its source and that the polar part is far from being an open sea. There is another discouraging circumstance attending the Navigating of these Northern parts, and that is the want of Harbours where a ship can occasionally retire to secure herself from the ice or repair any damage she may have sustained. For a more particular description of the American Coast, I beg leave to refer to the enclosed Chart which is hastily copied from an original of the same scale.

The reason of my not going to the Harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka to spend the winter is the great dislike I have to lay inactive for six or eight months while so large a part of the Southern Pacific Ocean remains unexplored and the State and condition of the ships will allow me to be moving. Sickness has been little felt in the ships and scurvy not at all, I have however had the misfortune to lose Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who died of a lingering consumption two months ago, and one man some time before of the dropsy, and Captain Clerke had one drowned by accident, which are all we have lost since we left the Cape of Good Hope.

Stores and provisions we have enough for twelve months, and longer, without a supply of both it will hardly be possible for us to remain in these seas, but whatever time we do remain shall be spent in the improvement of geography and navigation by

Sir, your most obedient

and most humble Servant

(signed) JAMES COOK

Resolution at the Island of  
Unalashka on the Coast of  
America in the Latitude of  
53° 55' North, Longitude 192°

30' East from Greenwich, the 20th of October 1778.

Islands discovered in the Voyage and not mentioned in this letter:

Mangia-nooe-nai-naiwa, Lat. 21° 51'S., Long. 201° 53'E.

Wantien " 20° 01'S., " 201° 45'E.

Toobooi " 23° 25'S., " 210° 24'E.

These three Islands are inhabited, there is good anchorage and good landing at the last but not the others.



Christmas Island Lat. 1° 55' North, Long. 202° 40' East. A low barren uninhabited Island with Anchorage on the west side; it abounds with Turtle but has no fresh water. Besides these Islands we visited some not known before lying between 19° and 20° South, adjoining to and making part of the Friendly Islands.

PHILIP STEPHENS, Esq.,  
Secretary of the Admiralty.

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WHO WAS THE "COM[MAN]D[ANT] DE LA TROUPE DANS CHAQUE  
COSTE"?

By Murray's ordinance of October 31, 1760, "the disputes that the habitants of the *côtes* may have amongst themselves, respecting enclosures, damages, or other minor cases," were to be settled by the "Comd. de la Troupe dans chaque Coste."<sup>1</sup> Who was he, a Frenchman or an Englishman?

For nearly a hundred years he has been accepted without question as an English army officer.<sup>2</sup> This tradition may have been strengthened by a mistranslation in Shortt and Doughty's *Constitutional Documents*,<sup>3</sup> which makes him simply "commandant of the troops." No direct evidence of the nationality of this official has yet been discovered. Though "chaque coste" implies that there were many of them, no record they may have left has been found, nor do we know the name of a single one. There is no evidence to support the traditional view, other than the phrase itself; but there is evidence for the view that the officer in question was a Frenchman,—a captain of militia.

Organized by Courcelle in 1669, the Canadian militia was divided into companies, each parish, according to its size, supplying one or more companies. At the time of the conquest, there were 108 parishes and 170 militia companies in Canada.<sup>4</sup> The captain of militia, who presided over each company, was generally the leading *habitant* of the locality. Originally little more than a musketry instructor, he early developed into the local agent or

<sup>1</sup>Can. Arch. Rep. 1918, Règne Militaire, p. 15. This translation is better than that given in Shortt and Doughty.

<sup>2</sup>*Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montreal*, Règne Militaire, Montreal, 1870.

<sup>3</sup>p. 45.

<sup>4</sup>C.O. 5, v. 59, p. 153. Amherst to Pitt, Oct. 4, 1760.

general factotum of the central government and may well be said to have presided over his district.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, the English conquerors seized upon this useful official, and continued his authority by giving him a new commission in place of that issued by the French governor. Throughout Canada during the four years of the military régime, he was the intermediary between the French and their new governors. He was the local police officer, and the people were ordered to obey his commands. In the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, he served as a justice of the peace, but tradition has denied him that function in the district of Quebec.

Why this difference? The explanations which have been offered, the earlier origin of Murray's government and his possession of an independent commission, are unsatisfactory. Murray did not keep his original system; he abandoned it when the military governments of Montreal and Three Rivers were being organized; and though he had received a commission as military governor from the king, he was directed to seek his instructions from the commander-in-chief, Amherst. Moreover, the royal commission gave Murray authority only over the town and fortress of Quebec. Amherst conferred upon him the necessary authority over the rest of the district of Quebec.<sup>2</sup> Thus the awkward question remains.

A glance at the system which Murray abandoned on October 31, 1760, may throw a little light upon the problem. It was Murray's own, for he was left without instructions during his first winter in Quebec.<sup>3</sup> He made his first appointments on November 12, 1759. His diary for that date reads: "established a civil jurisdiction for the inhabitants, and appointed Colonel Young chief judge, taking into the other offices some of the men of the best character that I could find in the place."<sup>4</sup> These "other offices" appear to have been filled by French Canadians. As he extended his authority beyond the walls of Quebec, Murray developed his judicial machinery. On December 8 or 9, he appointed Joseph Etienne Cugnet judge for the adjoining parishes on the north shore.<sup>5</sup> On January 16, 1760, he issued a commission

<sup>1</sup>*Supra*, vol. I, p. 241, Benjamin Sulte, *The Captains of Militia*.

<sup>2</sup>C.O. 5, v. 59, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup>"When I took upon me the command of His Majesty's forces here, I did not receive a single line of instructions, and was left entirely to act as appeared to me most for the public service." Murray Papers, v. 3, p. 105, Murray to Treasury, Aug. 28, 1761.

<sup>4</sup>C.O. 5, v. 64, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 57.

to Jacques Allier to serve in the same capacity between Berthier (*en bas*) and Kamouraska, away down the river.<sup>1</sup> Later in the month, he established a third rural court with jurisdiction from Berthier (*en bas*) to Pointe Levis,<sup>2</sup> above which his hold was uncertain. The records of this court, the only ones to survive from this first year, are signed by three French Canadians, Saillant, Frémont, and Lajus.<sup>3</sup> Thus, except for Colonel Young, the judges chosen by Murray during the first year of the military government of Quebec appear to have been all French. Murray's growing sympathy for the natives of Canada is well known, and it would have been very strange, therefore, if he had discarded them in favour of English army officers.

Much more to the point are the conditions under which Murray changed his system. After the fall of Canada and his return to Quebec, Murray implored Amherst's guidance. On September 24, 1760, he wrote:<sup>4</sup> "I hope I shall have the satisfaction to receive your directions as to the inhabitants and your orders for the troops . . . indeed I wish to God you would come down yourself." This was not Murray's first appeal, and already Amherst's orders were on the way from Montreal to Quebec. "As you have informed me," wrote Amherst on the 23rd,<sup>5</sup> "that you had not hitherto received any instruction from His Majesty for the administration of your government, and that I cannot approve of the French form that has been proposed to me; nor yet leave the country entirely without; I have formed a Plan by which to govern them (until His Majesty's pleasure thereupon be known) which appears to me to be most just and equitable; and I have accordingly directed that it should take place both in this and in the government of the Trois Rivières; and as the whole country should be on the same footing and under one and the same regulations; I must also recommend it to you to follow the same form until you receive your instructions from the King, or until His Majesty's pleasure shall hereupon be known. The following is

<sup>1</sup>Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, p. 36. There is no other record of Jacques Allier, but there is a record of André Alliez of St. Thomas below Quebec. He was commissioned a notary, July 14, 1749 (Roy, *Histoire du Notariat*, v. 2, p. 10).

<sup>2</sup>C.O. 5, v. 64, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup>"Plumitifs des audiences de la juridiction de la côte du sud." A transcript is to be found in the Manuscript Room of the Canadian Archives. Saillant was a notary, Frémont a merchant, and Lajus a doctor.

<sup>4</sup>Murray Papers, v. 3, p. 70.

<sup>5</sup>C.O. 5, v. 59, pp. 266-271.

the rule I have laid down. That with respect to thefts and murder, it is absolutely necessary the military law should take place, but with regard to differences between the inhabitants I would have them settled among themselves agreeable to their own laws and customs, for which purpose you will authorize the several captains of militia within your government to preside over the different parishes and districts to which they belong, and to terminate all such differences; and when it shall so happen that any of these captains cannot settle the same, then the parties must apply to the officer commanding His Majesty's troops within the said district to whom you will give such limited power as you judge proper for his examining and pronouncing thereon according to the best of his judgment, but if the affair should prove so intricate as to make him decline the decision, the same is then to be brought before you, that either through yourself, or with the advice of council (consisting of as many field officers as you shall think proper, which you will assemble for that purpose as often as you shall see occasion) you may finally determine thereupon." A proclamation establishing this system based upon the French-Canadian militia officers was published in Montreal and Three Rivers, and Amherst ordered Murray to publish it also in Quebec.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the "commd. de la troupe dans chaque coste" was the militia captain in charge of each parish or district. This interpretation is possible, for the "capitaine de milice" was often called the "capitaine de la côte,"<sup>8</sup> and Amherst on his way down to Quebec wrote in his diary that he "lay at the Capt. des Cotes' house."<sup>1</sup> Any other interpretation leads to serious difficulty. It implies that Murray received different instructions from home, or that he disobeyed the orders of his immediate commander, and there is no suggestion of either in the correspondence of the day. Thus the weight of evidence is in favour of Murray's officials being French-Canadian captains of militia, just as was the case in the two other military governments.

A. L. BURT

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#### DID LOUIS XIV SUGGEST THE SEIZURE OF NEW HOLLAND?

In *The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* for July-August, 1926, I have pointed out, in an article on the Jesuit historian Creuxius the religious and psychological significance of

<sup>1</sup>Oct. 1, 1760, Amherst Papers, Pkg. 19.

his *Historia Canadensis*, upon the translation of which I am engaged. As a contemporary historian Creuxius gives us the right atmosphere in which to view the events which he describes; much better than either Charlevoix, Parkman or Rochemonteix. He is a religious man, and approaches his subject from the point of view of a biographer of saints. With Louis XIII piety was on the throne. Creuxius had already translated into Latin lives of St. Francis de Sales and St. Francis Regis. He had no interest in the national and political aspects of the Jesuit missions. But the very events which he neglected in his narrative, or which the censors—a stiff board in his day—eliminated for him, gain thus an added importance in the mind of the reader. His silence works like a leaven.

Finding Creuxius entirely silent in regard to the negotiations between the government of New France and the New England colonies from 1647 to 1651, which were conducted largely through Father Gabriel Druillettes; and entirely silent about the strategic importance of the Huron Mission, and the magnitude of the calamity which overtook New France in the collapse of that undertaking; silent too about the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries to induce the French government to send an armed force through New England to attack the Iroquois (see Rochemonteix, I, p. 479; II, p. 470; II, p. 525), I incline to believe that the ruin of the Huron Mission had even greater political results than at first appears.

From 1649 to 1663 the fortunes of New France were at their lowest ebb. Father Jérôme Lalemant, superior of the Mission in Canada, was deputed to return to France to make known the desperate state of affairs and to implore immediate aid. The springtime of the year 1660 (the year of the accession of Charles II) fixes the date of the paroxysm of this crisis. Quite evidently the end of the period of the Commonwealth brought relief.

The hostility of the Iroquois was much more than the result of a tribal feud with the Hurons. Leagued with the Iroquois were the Dutch who supplied them with brandy and guns; and the destruction of the Huron Mission was an episode in the history of the fur-trade, as well as an episode in the history of missions. In addition, though the Dutch never declared openly against the French, they had already opposed the Jesuits in Japan and in India (see Creuxius, p. 393); and their post at Manhattan was originally intended as a menace to the Spanish trade in South America—it was to be a harbour for Dutch privateers. The Dutch

always associated the Jesuits with the Portuguese and the Spaniards. They supplied the Iroquois with arms (see Creuxius, p. 352); and documentary proof may yet be produced that they inspired the great Iroquois effort of 1649.

In addition, New Holland swarmed with traders of all nationalities, and among them French Protestants. The government of New Holland was for several years in the hands of a council of two, a Dutchman Kieft and a Huguenot La Montagne. It would be natural for the Huguenots, who had no interest in the spiritual welfare of the savages, but who had suffered severely in pocket when the Jesuits succeeded in excluding them from New France, and from participation in the fur-trade, should strike back (see Rochemonteix, I, p. 161). Events suggest this theory; research may yet produce documentary proof.

Creuxius dedicated the *Historia Canadensis* to Louis XIV in 1663; it was only one of many influences brought to bear in the hope of inducing the king to take a real interest in the affairs of New France. He did so, reorganizing its government, and sending out the Carignan-Salières regiment. But simultaneously, in 1664, the very year in which Creuxius's book appeared, the English—whose king Charles II was a minion of Louis XIV—seized New Holland. It is impossible not to believe that the Jesuits, the government of New France, and perhaps the New England colonies, which seemed ready in 1651 to co-operate with the French against the Iroquois, all had a part in this *coup d'état*. The results at any rate were propitious for New France and the Jesuits; nothing more was heard of Iroquois raids for many years, indeed almost till the rupture between Louis XIV and William of Orange.

I believe there is good ground for the theory that the disappearance of the Dutch from North America is to be closely connected with the destruction of Fort Ste. Marie in 1649; certainly from that neglected heap of ruins the historical student may let his imagination fly far. Creuxius's indignation against the Dutch presages such an event (see dedication to Louis XIV, and also p. 352). Charlevoix believed the curbing of the Iroquois indispensable. Rochemonteix leads the reader to the threshold of this theory. All these are Jesuit historians; and the letter of Jérôme Lalemant, which Rochemonteix gives in full (I, p. 479), written to Cardinal Richelieu from Ste. Marie in the Huron country on March 28, 1640, may be the germ from which sprang the seizure of New Holland later.

PERCY J. ROBINSON



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Cassandra, or The Future of the British Empire.* By F. C. S. SCHILLER.  
London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 1926. Pp. 92.

THIS philosophical essay might be dismissed lightly as a provocative example of ignorant pessimism. To do so, however, would be at the expense of the fact that it is a deliberative exercise of the liberty of prophesying founded on a realism, acute and sincere, if at times somewhat out of perspective. It will serve a useful purpose if it succeeds in turning the attention of British citizens from vague optimistic generalizations about the future of the empire to an examination of the dangers which at the moment seem to threaten its security.

Mr. Schiller is a firm believer that the traditional policy of Great Britain was the soundest; a strong and unchallenged naval supremacy and a foreign policy which aimed above all to preserve the balance of power in Europe. He traces the decline and fall of this conception through European alliances, the great war, the peace treaties, the limitation of armaments, and shows the results as he sees them in industrial unrest in Great Britain, in the accentuation of the political and economic freedom of the Dominions, in the widening of the formal bands of empire, and above all in the development and consolidation in every sphere of American superiority and strength. As a result he can see no future for the empire except in close co-operation with the United States based on material ends and recognizing American leadership. The prophecy may not appeal to a generation hallowed by suffering, and it is somewhat invidious in a writer whose scholarship is sound, not to know that empires have never as yet been held together solely by material cement. On the other hand, it is excellent that there should be sane reaction from the political historian and thinker who, as often as not, have deduced idealism from economic causes and are transcendently wise after the mundane event.

There is a note running through the essay which deserves attention. Mr. Schiller seems to think that the Dominions are more and more revolving in the orbit of American influence. There is really no evidence for this. Mr. Schiller must be singularly unacquainted with the public opinion of the Dominions. Nor can we subscribe to the statement (p. 34) that the Dominions "could sever their connection with England to-morrow with complete impunity and without the least loss of



security". Equally irritating is the remark (p. 69) that "*imperial* federation was killed by the policy of *colonial* federation which has created the Dominions." Mr. Schiller must know that had Canadian federation been postponed the great west might have been lost for ever, and that Australian unity was, in a marked degree, self-defence against German and Japanese advances in the Pacific, to say nothing of the Oriental threat to Australasian civilization.

Whatever the future, we share Mr. Schiller's plea for sincere imperial study in Great Britain (p. 76). Nothing is more surprising than the zeal lavished at the universities there on, say, the mediaeval constitution, or the civil war, or the French Revolution, at the expense of intimate and accurate study of past and present imperial history. There is no serious consciousness of the empire. We hope, too, that the plea in the mouth of an English writer for financial and economic co-operation with the United States is at least a sign that English journals and reviews will abandon their sinister deductions from the fact that Canada uses vast amounts of American capital.

The essay is a challenge to thought, to self-examination, to sincerity, to bed-rock realities, and as such it ought to be read by all who are not deceived by vague phrases and uncritical generalizations. There is no index.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

*The Letters of Queen Victoria.* Second series: *A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the years 1862 and 1878.* Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. Two volumes. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 637, 690.

IN the preface to the second series of Queen Victoria's letters, the editor says: "The interests of her far-flung Empire, of India, of the Colonies which were gradually evolving into Dominions, were ever in her thoughts. Besides encouraging Viceroys and Governors-General to correspond directly with herself, she insisted on being regularly consulted on important points by the India and the Colonial Offices." The range and continuity of the vast correspondence printed in these two big volumes indeed suggest that nothing of importance escaped the attention of the Queen. Actually, however, there are relatively few letters which bear directly on colonial and Indian affairs. Canada appears, for example, on but four or five occasions. In March, 1865, when relations with the United States were strained by the Alabama claims, Lord Palmerston reports a debate in the House of Commons on the defence of Canada. In November, 1866, the Queen demands information with respect to the alleged interference of Mr. Seward in the trial of Fenian convicts

in Canada. In 1867, she wishes to be assured that the name of Canada is satisfactory to all the federating provinces: the Earl of Carnarvon explains that the delegates at Quebec wish the approval of Her Majesty, which will give a sanction to the proposed name which no expression of opinion in the provinces will afford. In the autumn of 1873, there is a correspondence explaining and commenting on Lord Dufferin's acts as governor-general during the parliamentary crisis provoked by the Pacific Scandal. South Africa comes prominently into the Queen's vision in the day of Sir Bartle Frere and the annexation of the Transvaal; Lord Lytton writes from India when Disraeli's policy was adding a new glamour to the Empire in the East.

For students of Imperial, and more particularly of Canadian history, the letters have only an incidental value. Their central interest lies rather in the personality of Victoria and in her daily work and influence as a constitutional monarch. In December, 1861, there had fallen that "dreadful and overwhelming calamity", the death of the Prince Consort, and during the period of this series of letters, the Queen was left in "utter desolation, darkness, and loneliness." Grief and nerves led her to shun ceremonial duties and to seek seclusion at Windsor, Osborne, or Balmoral; but to the routine tasks of government she applied herself with a firm will and a clear intelligence which belies all her protests of helplessness. The letters well refute any idea that the British monarchy is merely decorative. Nevertheless, the Queen's firm convictions on men and situations never carried her beyond constitutional limits. She stated her views strongly, but never insisted on her opinions as against those of her responsible ministers. The evidence of the letters is that her influence was most marked on foreign affairs, and there especially in the difficulties arising from the successive phases of German unification under Bismarck, from the fall of Napoleon III and the Second Empire, and from the revival of the Near-Eastern question in the seventies. The Queen knew Germany and its aspirations, sharing with ambassadors like Sir Robert Morier or Lord Odo Russell a knowledge which many of the ministers did not possess. Among the more interesting letters in the series are those from her daughter, the Crown Princess of Prussia.

In home affairs, the Queen devoted particular attention to the affairs of the Church. She aimed to sustain what she once called "the tottering fabric of the Established Church" and its Protestant character. She constantly stated her views on ecclesiastical appointments and would recommend extremists neither of the Ritualist nor of the Evangelical parties. At one time, Disraeli found it necessary to explain that the title "Head of the Church" had been waived by Queen Elizabeth and

never revived, and that Her Majesty's title was "Supreme Governor" or "something in that vein." Yet even in this field of cherished prerogative, the Queen knew how to yield to the necessities of party politics.

From the details of ecclesiastical appointments or the tangled problems of European diplomacy, the letters provide much relief. It is possible to view many of the celebrities of the period from the Queen's standpoint. Her vigorous comments tell us much of them and of her. In the background of the German letters, Bismarck looms "bad, unprincipled and all-powerful" and "not to be trusted." Palmerston, *alias* Pilgerstein, is "gouty and extremely impertinent in his communications of different kinds." On his death, the Queen sums up their relations: "He had many valuable qualities though many bad ones and we had, God knows! terrible trouble with him about foreign affairs. Still as Prime Minister, he managed affairs at home well, and behaved to me well. But I *never* liked him, or could even the least respect him, nor could I forget his conduct on certain occasions to my Angel." Disraeli appears as the courtier. When he resigns in September, 1868, the Queen writes: "Took leave of Mr. Disraeli. He certainly shows more consideration for my comfort than any of the Prime Ministers since Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen." During the great ministry, he wins this eulogy: "Very large ideas and very lofty views of the position this country should hold. His mind is so much greater, larger, and his apprehension of things great and small so much quicker than that of Mr. Gladstone." Dickens appears "very agreeable with pleasant voice and manner" and a friend of the people; Mr. Carlyle, "the historian, a strange looking eccentric old Scotchman, who holds forth in a drawling melancholy voice, with a broad Scotch accent, upon Scotland and upon the utter degradation of everything." When it is proposed that the Prince of Wales shall visit Ireland, on the occasion of the Punchestown races, the Queen opposes the plan: "Any encouragement of his constant love of running about, and not keeping at home, or near the Queen, is most *earnestly* and *seriously* to be deprecated." There was something formidable about Victoria as *mater familias*.

In arrangement, the letters follow the plan of the earlier series to 1861 edited by Mr. A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher. A short historical introduction to each chapter makes easy the reading of the letters.

G. M. SMITH

*The Pageant of America: A Pictorial History of the United States.* Edited by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL and others. Vol. I: *Adventurers in the Wilderness.* By CLARK WISSLER, CONSTANCE LINDSAY SKINNER, and WILLIAM WOOD. Vol. III: *Toilers of Land and Sea.* By

RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. Vol. V: *The Epic of Industry*. By MALCOLM KEIR. Vol. XI: *The American Spirit in Letters*. By STANLEY THOMAS WILLIAMS. Vol. XIII: *The American Spirit in Architecture*. By TALBOT FAULKNER HAMLIN. New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co. 1926. Pp. 369; 340; 329; 329; 353.

ABOUT fifteen years ago there was organized in Toronto the publishing house of Glasgow, Brook and Co. The head of this house, Robert Glasgow, was a comparatively young man of quite unusual abilities. He combined with a shrewd knowledge of business the imagination of an Elizabethan adventurer and an appreciation of what was best in literature and history. In 1914 he published that monumental history of Canada entitled *Canada and its Provinces*, in twenty-three volumes; and in 1914-15 he brought out the still more successful series of volumes entitled *The Chronicles of Canada*. At this juncture the Great War intervened to upset his plans; but he promptly transferred his activities to New York, and there he repeated, on a larger scale, the success of *The Chronicles of Canada* by publishing *The Chronicles of America*, as well as other works. In 1922 his meteoric career was cut short by death; but before he died he had made elaborate plans for the preparation of a series of historical moving-picture films based on *The Chronicles of America*, and a pictorial history of the United States. Under the able supervision of his partner, Mr. Arthur Brook, these ventures have been carried to completion. The American historical films, we understand, are to-day being shown in moving-picture houses all over the United States; and there have now come from the press five volumes of *The Pageant of America*.

Visual education has great possibilities. A picture will make an impression on the average man where a page of print will not. If the cost of making pictures, whether moving-pictures or pictures in books, could be reduced, the methods of modern education might be revolutionized, and revolutionized most advantageously. In history, pictures have hitherto been used as supplementary to letter-press; the question now is whether, for the average person, the letter-press ought not to be made supplementary to the pictures. This, at any rate, is the method which has been adopted by the editors of *The Pageant of America*; and while it is, in many respects, tentative and experimental, it must be pronounced (if one may judge by these first five volumes) a great success.

The only volume of the five under review which contains much of direct interest for Canadian history is the first, dealing with *Adventurers in the Wilderness*. This contains an entire section covering the history of New France. It contains a judicious admixture of contem-

porary drawings, portraits, and maps with modern imaginative paintings and other illustrations. One may, perhaps, regret that the editors have seen fit to include in this section spurious portraits of Cartier and Champlain. They explain, it is true, in their notes, that these portraits are not authentic; but the notes are tucked away in the back of the volume, in front of the index, and the casual reader will get the impression that the portraits are drawn from the life. Of greater value, from every point of view, are the pictures prepared expressly for *The Pageant of America* by Mr. C. W. Jefferys. These have been executed with an unparalleled knowledge of historical details, and with a dramatic quality calculated to fire the imagination of anyone who examines them. The history of New France must have been exceptionally difficult to illustrate; with the help of Mr. Jefferys the editors have succeeded in making it both interesting and informative.

Of the remaining four volumes none bear directly on Canadian history; but the volumes on *Toilers by Land and Sea* and *The Epic of Industry* contain much which, *mutatis mutandis*, is applicable to the economic history of Canada. The history of farming, of lumbering, of fishing, of ranching—these are to a large extent the same in the two countries; and what illustrates one illustrates the other. In regard to industry, Canada has to a large extent inherited the methods and traditions of the United States; and the industrial history of the United States is therefore the background of the industrial history of Canada. As for the volumes dealing with American literature and American architecture, though they are in many respects the most successful of the five, they relate solely to the United States. Even Haliburton, "the father of American humour", finds no place in the volume on American literature; and Canadian architecture might be limited to the construction of log-cabins so far as any attention is devoted to Canadian buildings. But this does not affect the real value and usefulness of these volumes. *The American Spirit in Architecture* contains probably more illustrations of various American styles than has ever before been published in one volume; and one has only a patriotic regret in noticing the absence of such outstanding examples of Canadian architecture as the Château de Ramezay in Montreal and Hart House in Toronto. For, after all, Canada is situated in North America.

W. S. WALLACE

*Guide to British West Indian Archive Materials in London and in the Islands for the History of the United States.* By HERBERT C. BELL, DAVID W. PARKER and others. Washington: The Carnegie Institution. 1926. Pp. ix, 435.

THIS volume is the latest addition to the invaluable guides to historical material which the Carnegie Institution has been issuing for several years. It is characterized by the care, accuracy, and insight which we are accustomed to connect with the series. The editing, as usual, is admirable, and the indexing is such as to render the book easy for purposes of historical use and reference.

The first section deals in greater detail with the Colonial Office papers already described in the series by Professor C. M. Andrews. The second section covers in a more cursory way the archives of the various islands, which, we are sorry to note, are in many cases in a bad state of preservation. The student has thus available in consolidated and convenient form a means of knowing, if not all the individual documents, at least the groups of documents extant in the field.

Especially important is the material connected with the American Revolution, with trade between the West Indies and British North America, and with the problems of local government. In this last connection a valuable field for research is opened up in the island of Grenada under the proclamation of 1763. With the Canadian experience in view it is interesting to note the difficulties over the legal system, over the legislature, and over the political status of the Roman Catholics (pp. 143-145). Indeed, the last point is of some importance, for it would seem that, before the Quebec Act, Grenada opened its Assembly to Roman Catholic members (see dispatch of October 12, 1768, and the proclamation of December 31, 1768, pp. 144-145). A familiar note is heard in April, 1770, in connection with the decision to govern Turk Island without representation as part of the government of the Bahamas. "As the whole body of the people," wrote Hillsborough, "belonging to the British Empire are represented by the Commons of Great Britain, so are the inhabitants of the Bahamas in general represented in the Assembly of that Government" (pp. 26-7).

W. P. M. KENNEDY

*Studies in English Commerce and Exploration in the Reign of Elizabeth.*

I: *England and Turkey, The Rise of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations.* By ALBERT LINDSAY ROWLAND. II: *The English Search for a North-West Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth.* By GEORGE BORN MANHART. (Theses presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.) Philadelphia: Press of the University of Philadelphia. 1924. Pp. xviii, 189; v, 179.

OF these two academic dissertations, bound together, only the second,



which deals with the forerunners of Henry Hudson, has any direct interest for students of Canadian, or American, history. Mr. Manhart has examined in detail the voyages undertaken by Englishmen during the reign of Elizabeth with a view to the discovery of a North-West Passage—especially those of Frobisher, Davis, and Waymouth. He has made an exhaustive survey of the literature dealing with these voyages, as his bibliography testifies; and he gives a full, if somewhat pedantic, account of the voyages. He has not apparently drawn on many materials not yet in print; but of the narratives and information in Hakluyt, Purchas, and Collinson, he has made full use, and as a digest of these materials his work has distinct value.

As a study of Elizabethan exploration, however, the book reveals grave defects. The author has read the books bearing directly on his subject; but he appears to have little further knowledge about Elizabethan England, and his study is therefore lacking in the necessary background. Nor, in his final chapter, entitled "The Results of the Search", does he appear to realize the significance of the study he has undertaken. The last, fateful voyage of Henry Hudson in 1610—a voyage which resulted at least in the discovery of Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay—was the direct result of the perusal by Hudson of Waymouth's log, and hence of the voyages which Mr. Manhart describes; and yet there is in his pages a mere reference (in four words) to Hudson's expedition, and only a few lines are devoted to the expeditions sent out in search of him. There is a reference to the final completion of the North-West Passage by Roald Amundsen in 1906, and a sentence about McClure's expedition; but it would seem that Mr. Manhart's knowledge about the later attempts to find a North-West Passage was as fragmentary as his knowledge of the background of the Elizabethan voyages.

If one considers it in the light of an academic exercise, one must admit that Mr. Manhart's book is not without merit. But whether, in its present form, it was worthy of the dignity of print, is a matter on which there might be two opinions. It would, in any case, have been well if the author had extended and amplified his researches, so as to make his book something more than a résumé of materials already, for the most part, accessible.

W. S. WALLACE

*La découverte du Missouri et l'histoire du Fort D'Orléans, 1673-1728.*

Par le Baron MARC DE VILLIERS. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1925. Pp. 138; two maps.

THIS book is divided into two parts. The first, "The exploration of the Missouri," covers the period 1673-1719, and deals with the discovery



of the Mississippi by Jolliet and Marquette, who were the first white men to mention and describe the Pekitanouï river (now the Missouri). The author devotes the first chapter (15 pages) to combatting the pretensions of the friends and admirers of La Salle, who claim that he discovered the Mississippi and the mouth of the Missouri.

The discovery of the Mississippi by La Salle, in 1672, is just as much a chimera as his exploration of the Ohio river in the preceding years. Baron de Villiers shows conclusively that no weight ought to be attached to Abbé Bernou's "*Mémoire sur le projet du Sieur de la Salle pour la découverte de la partie occidentale de l'Amérique septentrionale entre la Nouvelle-France, la Floride et le Mexique.*" The many errors as to facts and dates which it contains make it absolutely worthless.

Abbé Renaudot was a member of the French Academy, and, as occasion offered, he did not hesitate to say that he had "*du bon sang de gazettiste dans les veines.*" He was the son of the founder of the *Gazette de France*. His account of La Salle's voyage to the Ohio and the Mississippi is worth no more than Abbé Bernou's, if as much. He has evidently drawn too much upon his rather vivid imagination. These two authors and one or two documents of no importance whatever have, according to Baron de Villiers, led into error Messrs Margry, Gravier, Chesnel, and others. The Mississippi was discovered by Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette on June 17, 1673.

In chapter II the author continues his demonstration. He deals first with Jolliet and Marquette's discovery, then with La Salle's expedition of 1679-1682. Sagard's *Relation* and La Hontan's *Voyages* are next shown to contain many fables and legends. The last mention of the Missouri in the seventeenth century is by Father Buisson de Saint-Côme, under date of September 6, 1698.

In chapter III Baron de Villiers shows that some *coureurs de bois* went up the Missouri during the years 1700-1713. As early as 1700, Iberville wished to open commercial relations with New Mexico. Two years later he wrote a "*Mémoire sur l'établissement de La Mobile et du Mississippi.*" In September, 1704, Bienville also speaks of the Canadians who trade on the Mississippi and the Missouri, and in 1710, he sent Darac, a Canadian, with two soldiers to trade on the last named river.

With chapter IV comes the principal part of the book. The first three chapters seem to have been but a long and interesting introduction leading to the adventures and travels of Véniard de Bourghmond (1713-1718).

The first exploration of the Missouri of which we possess precise information, says the author, was accomplished in 1714 by Etienne Véniard de Bourghmond, son of Doctor Charles de Véniard, seigneur du

Vergié, in Normandy. This explorer had lived in Canada "*en simple voyageur*", and afterwards commanded at Detroit, after Tonty. He deserted his post and led the life of a *coureur de bois* during five years. He then drifted to the Missouri, where he was to make a name for himself.

The Baron de Villiers next reproduces an unpublished document from Bourgmond's pen: "Route qu'il faut tenir pour monter la rivière de Missouri." He also gives extracts from another unpublished production of Bourgmond: "Exacte description de la Louisiane. . . ." The importance of the information obtained by Bourgmond was well understood by the Louisiana authorities and led to the writing of many memoirs which were sent to Paris, between 1717 and 1719. In 1718 the governor of Louisiana, Bienville, asked that the cross of St. Louis be granted to Bourgmond. On October 28, 1719, the Sieur de Bourgmond embarked for France.

The second part of the book contains the history of the Fort d'Orléans, 1720-1728.

M. de Bourgmond was well received in Paris. Greatly satisfied with the explorer's work, the directors of the Compagnie des Indes appointed him, on August 12, 1720, "Commandant sur la rivière du Missouri," and on October 20 following, the king made him a Chevalier de Saint-Louis. Unhappily, the failure of Law's scheme had put an end to the enthusiasm of the court and the public for Louisiana, and it was not until June, 1722, that Bourgmond left for his new command. Notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in his way by Bienville, who had changed his mind during the last two years, Bourgmond, undaunted, succeeded in organizing his expedition to the Missouri. But his journey was fraught with difficulties: lack of proper food and ammunition and the desertion of his men caused him untold hardship. He nevertheless succeeded in reaching the Missouri river (on November 5, 1723), where he immediately began the construction of a fort which he called Fort d'Orléans.

Chapter VII is a study as to the exact location of the Fort d'Orléans. The history of the fort is told in the following chapter, partly in Bourgmond's own words. In chapter IX is related a voyage of Bourgmond to the Padoukas country in 1724. Having attained his end, which was to attach this tribe to the interests of France by a treaty, Bourgmond left for France, bringing with him several chiefs. A brilliant reception awaited him in Paris. He and the Indian chiefs were received by the King and the Duchesse d'Orléans, and were grandly entertained. All the Indians but one then returned home well pleased with their excursion.

After Bourgmond's retirement from the service, no one having any interest in Fort d'Orléans, it was finally abandoned.

In chapter X the author relates the last days at the Fort, and does away with the legend that the garrison was massacred by the Indians.

Upon his return to France, Bourgmond at last reached the goal of his ambition. As a recognition of his great services to his country, the King ennobled him, in December, 1725.

This work of Baron de Villiers, as the preceding notes show, is of great interest and of much historical value. It covers a most interesting page of the history of the American Middle West, once a part of New France. It sets at rest many debated points and corrects many errors of the author's predecessors in this field. A good and reliable historian and a fine writer is Baron de Villiers. One can see at a glance that he is no novice in the art of expounding facts which long, intelligent, and careful research has brought to light. The facts are described with accuracy and are substantiated by clear references to printed works or manuscript sources. As a matter of fact, the Baron is no newcomer in this field, being well known as the author of *Les dernières années de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1904) and *La Louisiane de Châteaubriand* (Paris, 1924). The book is also happily almost free from errors in names and dates; this shows that the proofs have been read with care. In fact, I have noticed but two names misspelled: "Bréham" for Bréhaut de Galinée (p. 5, line 4), and "Winipeg" (p. 126, line 22).

On page 15, 1667 is too early a date for Frontenac's letter. Should it be 1678? On page 22, line 5, "1774" should be 1674; on page 35, line 16, one should read 1704 instead of "1904."

In conclusion, all those interested in the history of the Missouri or the discoveries in New France, will need this book.

FRANCIS J. AUDET

*Les vieilles églises de la province de Québec, 1647-1800.* Publié par la Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Québec. Québec: L.-A. Proulx. 1925. Pp. viii, 324; illustrations.

Of recent years much interest and investigation have been devoted to the early architecture and sculpture of the province of Quebec. Thanks to the work of MM. Barbeau, Roy, Vaillancourt, Massicotte, etc., the department of architecture of McGill University, and Professors Nobbs and Traquair, attention has been directed to this earliest expression of native Canadian art. The researches of these investigators have revealed the existence of a distinct local application of an architectural style, developed by a body of expert, well-trained craftsmen, which can be traced back to the time of the technical school established by Bishop Laval at St. Joachim.

Evidence of the awakened interest in the subject is shown by the

publication of this handsome volume. It contains one hundred and seventy-eight excellent half-tone engravings from photographs of thirty-eight of the oldest churches of the province, including views of the exteriors, altars, pulpits, statuary, and details of interior decorations. It is interesting to find in the collection three Protestant places of worship, the origin of which dates to the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The text contains a great amount of information, most of it gained from the parish registers. These valuable repositories give useful details regarding the construction of the earliest church buildings, from which we gather that they were generally of wood, built *en colombages*, i.e., in upright palisade form, and were roofed with thatch. Later extracts from the same sources set forth the dates of the erection of the stone buildings which succeeded these primitive mission chapels, together with notes on the decorations, enlargements, and restorations undertaken from time to time, the expenses incurred, the names of many of the donors and ecclesiastics concerned, and numerous references to the architects and wood-carvers employed.

The collection covers almost every section of the province, and is widely representative of the slight variations in type; but some churches are omitted which might well have been included, to the enrichment of the book. In the Richelieu country, particularly, where many of the parishes date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, may be found examples worthy of comparison with those selected. Sorel, St. Antoine, St. Marc, St. Denis, built in 1783, and Boucherville, 1801, for instance, should not be ignored, nor the Caughnawaga Indian Mission church, nor the St. Eustache of the fight of 1837.

Space for some of these might have been found if some of the rather too numerous interiors and altars had been eliminated. A study of the interior features of most of these Quebec churches reveals little original artistic work. Frequently they display an ingenious fancy playing upon old themes, and occasionally a chaste refinement and restraint in design; but in only too many instances they reflect merely the florid and tawdry decadent classicist style of France of the later eighteenth century.

The best features of the typical Quebec churches are to be found in their exteriors; their mass and silhouette, their general plan and structure, and their adaptation to site and environment. Here one finds the most originality of treatment, the greatest sincerity and simplicity of design, the happiest union of a sound tradition with individual expression. The ancestry is late Renaissance, the so-called Jesuit style; local necessities of climate and economy of means chastened the colonial church to a simple and dignified elegance. Massive walls and towers,

sparingly ornamented, depending solely on the beauty of harmonious proportion, graceful belfries and slender spires, mark the typical early French-Canadian church with an individual charm. Only in the churches of Spanish America, of Old and New Mexico and California, built about the same time and in the same architectural tradition, can be found a somewhat similar character. A comparison of these contemporary developments of North American ecclesiastical architecture would doubtless reveal interesting variations of this adaptation of a parent style to physical environment and racial or national character.

It is to be hoped that succeeding volumes will appear under the auspices of the Commission, dealing with the secular architecture of the province. Equally worthy of pictorial record are the old farmhouses, barns, and windmills, and, we may add, the square-rigged hay and wood barges that gave so much character to the life of the great river. The blight of progress menaces them all, and on many of the older houses, as on many of the churches, the hand of the ignorant restorer has already fallen heavily. Reference is made in the volume under review to instances where ostentatious and bizarre "modern improvements" have ruined the naïve sincerity of earlier work.

The Commission is to be commended for the efforts which it is making toward the preservation of the truly typical specimens of the crafts of the olden time. The publication of volumes such as this, which is issued in both French and English editions, will help to create a more enlightened public opinion on such matters, not only in Quebec, but throughout the other provinces of the Dominion.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

*Le Bic: Les Etapes d'une Paroisse. Deuxième partie: Un Siècle de Vie Paroissiale.* Par l'Abbé JOSEPH-D. MICHAUD. Quebec: L'Action Sociale. 1926. Pp. 250; illustrations.

THE first volume of this excellent essay in local history was reviewed in these pages last year (Vol. VI, p. 354). The present volume, which brings the history of Bic down from 1829, when it was erected into a parish, to the present, is no less interesting and admirable. That the author should have devoted two volumes to the history of a parish which has to-day a population only a little in excess of 2,000, and which was until 1850 so sparsely settled and so poor that it did not have a parish church, is a measure of the thoroughness with which he has attacked his task. Yet he never loses his sense of perspective; and his sense of humour and his eye for the picturesque save from dullness his account of the minor incidents in the history of the parish.

The greater part of the book is taken up with religious history.

This is, no doubt, partly because incidents such as the appointment of a curé or the building of a parish church bulk very largely in the life of a French-Canadian village, and partly because the ecclesiastical records are as a rule fuller than the records of secular affairs. Yet the Abbé Michaud does not neglect the latter. One of the most interesting aspects of the book is that it is a study of the economic influences that have shaped the life of the parish. He traces the influence on the growth of Bic of the building of the military road (the "Kempton road") from Quebec to the head of the Bay of Chaleur, of the development of the lumber business, of the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and of the collapse of the plans for making the harbour of Bic a winter port. Of political history there is, perhaps in the nature of the case, little said.

JULIA JARVIS

*Histoire de Sorel de ses origines à nos jours.* Par l'Abbé A. COUILLARD-DESPRÉS. Montréal: Imp. des Sourds-Muets. 1926. Pp. 343.

ON the south bank of the St. Lawrence, in the province of Quebec, the town of Sorel occupies the third rank, if one considers the size of its population, but it is among the first in point of age, since its foundation dates back to 1642.

It was not to be expected that a lover of history could inhabit this locality for a couple of years without trying to learn something about its past, and we have in this book the proof. During a stay which he made at Sorel, the Abbé Couillard-Després, who has already several important historical works to his credit, occupied his leisure in informing himself about the corner of land where he was living. He gathered first on the spot, and then in the archive collections of Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal and Ottawa, a mass of information; and this he has proceeded to use for the edification of the profane. For if people know that Sorel was in the beginning a military post, a strategic point, then a sea port, as well as a harbour of shelter where vessels could refit during the bad season, that is as far as the knowledge of the public goes.

In the volume which lies before us the author brings to light a series of curious facts. After having brought before our eyes the explorations of Champlain, the foundation of the post in 1642, and then its reconstruction in 1665, he traces the gradual development of a seignior and a town. After the British conquest came the American Revolution, and at this juncture there appeared on the banks of the St. Lawrence hundreds of people who refused to live under the shadow of the republican flag. Immediately the authorities, with the best of intentions, conceived the idea of making Sorel the refuge of the new arrivals. For a moment it



looked as though the old French post would become forever an English town. Its name was changed to that of William Henry; and streets were laid out to which were given names savouring of the purest loyalism, since they were those "of the principal personages of the royal family." But the dream was not realized. The town of William Henry could not resist the waves of French population which the neighbouring country brought into it; and one day Sorel recovered its old name. Before that day was reached, however, there were many struggles in which figured numerous personages, both French and English; and in these the author has the faculty of raising our lively interest.

In short, this work is an excellent addition to the series of those monographs on towns, seigniories, and parishes in Canada, of which the number will never be too great.

If one wishes to attach the people to the country, one must begin by instructing them about their native towns, one must introduce them to the men who have directed the religious, political, and economic movements of each locality, one must instruct them about the origin and the working of the institutions which have rendered possible the progress of which we to-day enjoy the fruits.

E. Z. MASSICOTTE

*En Marge de la Tragédie d'un Peuple de M. Emile Lauvrière, ou Erreurs sur l'histoire de l'Acadie réfutées.* Par L'Abbé A. COUILLARD-DESPRÉS. Bruges: Desclée, de Brouwer, et Cie. N.d. Pp. x, 117.

IN 1922 Dr. Lauvrière published a history of the Acadian people which was written with marked literary skill and contained in two profusely illustrated volumes. When it was reviewed in this periodical (IV, 4, pp. 336-8) the reviewer, Miss Reid, drew attention to its peculiar bias and "hysterical emotion", and complained of "prejudice in the selection and interpretation of sources". The undersigned, having had occasion since then to work through the source material, found that the complaints were abundantly justified. From internal evidences, also, even the repetition of a mistake in the day of the month or the year, it was obvious that Moreau's history of Acadia (published in 1873) had been the author's chief single guide, and that the long lists of original and secondary authorities cited could not have been completely or impartially consulted. One section of Moreau's work, moreover, had already been re-examined by Abbé Després (*La Revue Canadienne*, vols. xxii-xxiv, reprinted as *Observations sur l'histoire de l'Acadie française de M. Moreau*, Montréal, 1919), and Dr. Lauvrière had cited the work in his chapter bibliographies (I, pp. 58, 86), paying attention in his history, however, merely to one minor statement. He was, in fact, much less judicious on



controversial and difficult topics than M. Moreau. The seriousness of the situation is that his volumes are imposing in *format* and vigorously written. Already they have acquired authority in France (*vide* P. de Vaissières, *Revue de l'histoire des colonies française*, 1924, IV<sup>e</sup> trimestre) and among some French-speaking Canadians. Abbé Després quotes the example of how one vindictive implication progressed from error to statement as a probability (*Précis d'histoire d'Acadie*, Montréal, 1924), and finally reached the Abbé himself as statement of fact from one of his pupils.

Abbé Després wisely bided his time and last year, on the occasion of a visit to Rome for Holy Year, he took pains to investigate the original sources used by himself in transcribed or printed copies and cited by Lauvrière. Now he has published a critical analysis of chapters II, III, and IV of *La Tragédie d'un Peuple* which specifically reveals error, falsification, contradiction, and, to put it very mildly, such unscholarly use of sources as to make it clear that the author was seeking support for a preconception rather than conducting scientific research. It might be added from our own research that these qualities are not confined to the chapters here examined, and it is suggested that the explanation lies in the opening words of the *Avant-Propos* (I, ix)—“Une édition des œuvres choisies de Longfellow, dont *Evangeline* a été le point de départ de ce travail.”

It is unfortunate that controversy is an ungrateful task, particularly when, as in this case, it centres on the character of rival individuals—Charles-Amador de la Tour and Charles d'Aulnay de Charnisay—whose impression on Canadian history is not always remembered outside Quebec and the Maritime provinces. It is conceivable that Abbé Després has published his booklet at his own expense. He has, however, rendered to Canadian history a genuine service in critical evaluation and has done so irrespective of the merits of his own self-appointed task of vindicating his hero, La Tour, whose biography he has in preparation. Only patient effort can reveal the holes and weaknesses in an historical tapestry whose dramatic general design makes one overlook them. The pity is that the special pleader can impose on many, even of those who might incline to mistrust him, by using, as does Dr. Lauvrière, almost the complete form of scientific research without entire justification.

Abbé Després, in speaking of Dr. Lauvrière's portrait of Aulnay, says that it is “trop parfait pour être celui d'un simple mortel”. Controversy is apt to produce that sort of portrait, and it may not be presumptuous in us to hope that the forthcoming portrait of La Tour will be “d'un simple mortel”. No matter how convinced one may be of his probity and loyalty to Church and King, there are humour, unabashed

audacity, and opportunism in the career of a man who was lieutenant-governor of Acadia for France and at the same time a baronet of Nova Scotia in the peerage of Scotland; who was received with a salute of cannons and was for four years the distinguished guest of Governor de Montmagny at Quebec and Montreal, but who discussed theology and trade and *borrowed money* in Boston; who, while a prisoner in England, bargained through English agents with Cromwell and held Nova Scotia of him; and who ended his career as the husband of his rival's widow, by whom after his sixtieth year he had five children!

J. BARTLET BREBNER

*The Pictorial Life of Wolfe.* By A. E. WOLFE-AYLWARD. Plymouth, England: William Brendon and Son, Limited, Mayflower Press. [1926.] Pp. xiii, 211; 103 illustrations.

QUEBEC HOUSE, in Westerham, Kent, in which James Wolfe spent the early years of his life, was purchased some years ago by the late Mr. J. B. Learmont of Montreal, and was placed in the care of the National Trust of England as a public memorial. It is now occupied by Mr. Wolfe-Aylward, a direct descendant of James Wolfe's aunt, and his family, and is visited each year by many travellers, especially from Canada and the United States, whose interest in the historic house is greatly increased by the courtesies extended to them by the occupants.

It is, therefore, most fitting that Mrs. Wolfe-Aylward should have published a volume, copiously illustrated, describing Wolfe's life, in the year preceding the bi-centenary of his birth. This anniversary will be celebrated in England with fitting ceremony, and this splendid production will serve to call attention to it in a special manner in all parts of the Empire. I am not aware that such a tribute has been paid to any other great British military or naval commander.

No apology is needed for the modest and concise account of the main features of Wolfe's career, which forms the introductory portion of the book. The illustrations are, however, the most important contribution. They are most comprehensive and very well reproduced. Other pictures might have been added, but it is doubtful if they would have served to increase the value of the volume. Mrs. Wolfe-Aylward has exercised great care in making her selection and is to be congratulated on her judiciousness.

The first edition is of a special character, being limited to the number of those who were original subscribers. This will be succeeded by an edition which will be sold at such a price as to bring it within the reach of people of the most moderate means. It is to be hoped that this popular edition may have a wide circulation so that all classes, especially the

youth of the Empire, may take fresh delight in the story of one whose life was characterized by intense love of country and devotion to duty.

J. C. WEBSTER

*The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement.* By J. FRANKLIN JAMESON. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1926. Pp. 158.

THE value of a book is not to be determined by its size, else would Bacon's essays be unimportant. This small volume, consisting of four lectures on the Louis Clark Vanuxem foundation at Princeton, is by one of the best equipped of American scholars, and deals with more important aspects of the American Revolution than those related to drum and trumpet. Dr. Jameson girds at the flamboyant patriotism which has counted as heroes all on the revolutionary side and as monsters all who opposed them. His is the attitude of the scientific historian and, as always happens, the new and truer view has aroused the champions of tradition, until, in some of the states, any critical treatment of the Revolution is regarded as treason and not allowed in the schools. This is the more remarkable in a country which went through a terrible civil war, in order to forbid the secession of the South. The parallel ought not to be pressed too far, but if secession was treason in 1861 there is some defence for the view that it was treason in 1776.

The events linked with the breaking up of the older British Empire must always remain important; but more important still are the forces thus diverted into new channels. Dr. Jameson hazards the opinion that, during the colonial period, society was more stable than it has been in the United States in any succeeding period. The older society was agricultural; in all the colonies there were only five towns with more than eight thousand people. In six of the colonies the pattern of England was followed to the point of an established Church of England. There were landed estates larger than any in Britain in our own time. "The Fairfax estate in Virginia at one time embraced six million acres; that of Lord Granville in North Carolina included at least a third of the colony" (p. 47). In New York there were great manors. Half a million slaves worked almost wholly on the land. Manufactures were unimportant and some were forbidden by the British parliament, such, for instance, as the manufacture of steel and that of hats for export even from one colony to another. The Revolution involved the reconstruction of this society and found in this its most important consequences.

It is clear that the division of opinion in the colonies did not run on the lines of class. The two oldest sections, New England and Virginia,

were Whig, perhaps because, being older, they had developed a stronger national sentiment than had newer communities. The official classes were inevitably Tory, if only because of their responsibilities in office; but the clergy, except the minority represented by the Church of England, were chiefly Whig. The leading lawyers were Tory, the others Whig. Many but not all of the Irish were Whigs, as were also the Germans. The Revolution was, however, the work chiefly of the "plain people." The mass of the people were inclined to be apathetic. Considering that the men in the colonies of military age amounted to about seven hundred thousand, the numbers enlisting were trifling. It was the vigour of the few who forced the hands of the many. Defenders are usually less enterprising than assailants, for they wish to hold only what they have; while assailants wish for something which they do not yet possess. During the American Revolution radical doctrines had increasing influence, as they always do at such a time. The motive of greed was not lacking, for there were many covetous eyes on the vast quantity of land held by loyalists.

From these causes came a new society. Small landholders acquired the confiscated estates of great ones. Primogeniture and quit rents linked with large estates disappeared, as they will, it may be before long, disappear in England. So also did the law of entail. New lands were colonized. In a single year, 1788, nearly twenty thousand new settlers passed one point on the Ohio River. Industries, some of them forbidden under the British régime, soon multiplied: textiles, munitions of war, paper, shipbuilding, iron and steel manufactures. In 1776 there was no bank in America; but quickly methods of banking became one of the chief problems of the Republic. The churches were all freed from any tie with the state. Such things were the most vital consequences of political change; and Professor Jameson puts them briefly in a clear light, in a delightful literary style. One suggestion may perhaps be offered. Almost invariably he speaks of the United States as "America". For this, long custom in England and in the United States furnishes adequate warrant. But in America Brazil and Argentina like it even less than does Canada, and writers in the United States would be wise to use some other term for their country.

GEORGE M. WRONG

*Charles Buller and Responsible Government.* By E. M. WRONG. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 352.

MR. WRONG has given us a delightful portrayal of a most lovable figure in imperial history, and a discussion of the development of responsible government which is indispensable to a full understanding of that much

mishandled subject. The story of Buller's early life as the favourite pupil of Carlyle, the outstanding wit of the House of Commons, a good-natured and adventurous young radical, and the pioneer of that reform in the care of manuscripts whose monument is the Public Record Office, is told in an interesting and sufficiently thorough manner. In view of the difficulty of knowing just what he contributed to Lord Durham's *Report*, it is interesting to learn that nine months before its publication, Buller prepared a scheme of government for New South Wales in which the matters of imperial concern are the same as those indicated in the *Report*. This dealt, however, with legislative rather than executive powers, and did not anticipate the ideas underlying responsible government.

The author finds the origin of the "historical gossip" that Buller was the chief author of Lord Durham's *Report* in Brougham's spiteful comment. "As far as style is evidence, the body of the Report reads as if it were by the author of Durham's despatch of 9th August, 1838, and Durham drafted that with his own hand. . . . Of course the question whether Durham penned every word is a very minor one; probably sections were drafted by others for his amendment and incorporation in the whole." The arguments and conclusion in the main are those already stated by Garnett, Lucas, Bradshaw, Egerton, and others. But there is little that is new to be said on this question of authorship, and that little does not lie in the path of the biographer of Buller.

The chapter on "The Last Years" deals with Buller's devotion to Durham, his exposition in parliament of the latter's views, his suggestions in regard to Ireland, support of Wakefield's theories on emigration and colonization, championship of the New Zealand Company, and ambitions as chief poor law commissioner cut short by his untimely death at the age of forty-two. The chapter on "The Meaning of Responsible Government" describes the content of the term as employed by Durham, Buller, and Wakefield. Mr. Wrong combats the view that Durham in his *Report* did not advocate collective cabinet responsibility and insists that he recommended that the governor's relation to the assembly—in matters of purely Canadian concern—should be similar to that of the Crown to parliament in Great Britain. The author could have fortified himself even more strongly in these positions by fuller quotations from the *Report*. At the same time, it is clearly shown that the relation of the Crown to cabinet and parliament was very different in 1839 to what it is in 1926. The reasons for the imperial reservations are carefully described. An excursion is taken into the interesting field of the doctrine of sovereignty in the light of present imperial relations. Mr.

Wrong defends the theory of indivisible sovereignty, and maintains that "the real ultimate sovereignty of Canada" has been "transferred to the Dominion".

This chapter also serves as an introduction to Buller's *Responsible Government for Colonies* (1840) and Wakefield's pamphlet on *Sir Charles Metcalfe in Canada* (1844), which are reprinted in pages 87 to 352 of this book. "Neither has been available for students remote from the greater libraries." "When the views of Wakefield and Buller are added to those of Durham . . . the nature of the new system as it was planned becomes clear." Wakefield's pamphlet is important for other reasons—analysis of the British and American governments, general political theory, and the defence of Metcalfe. Mr. Wrong has rendered a substantial service by reprinting it as well as Buller's work.

This book is not only remarkably sound in its conclusions; it is singularly accurate in its statement of facts. The few errors of any importance are only to a slight degree chargeable to Mr. Wrong. He states (p. 30) that Durham heard of the disallowance of his ordinance early in September, and attempts to destroy "the usual story" of his first reading the news in an American newspaper on September 19. But in supposing that the letter which Buller and Wakefield wrote to Durham on the 7th referred to the disallowance of the ordinance, Mr. Wrong is misled by the calendar of the Durham Papers. The letter itself not only makes no reference to the disallowance, but affords clear evidence of the fact that Durham did not yet know of it. He was thinking of resigning, but this was on account of earlier conflicts with the Melbourne government, and especially the Turton affair. The strongest evidence for the September 19 story is not that of Buller's sketch or Duncombe's journal—though both are generally reliable—but the entry under that date in Lady Durham's journal, which gives it in its most detailed and dramatic form. The same entry affords other evidence that Glenelg's letter of August 14 referred to by Mr. Wrong had not yet arrived. Similarly, in discussing Wakefield's possible share in writing the articles brought together under the title *Responsible Government in the Colonies*, and credited to Buller, Mr. Wrong follows the calendar of the Durham Papers and states that on December 26, 1839, after three of them had appeared, Wakefield wrote to Durham that he hoped Buller would work with him on the *Responsible Government* papers. But what Wakefield wrote was this: "I hope to see Buller before the end of the week and to make him go on with the Responsible Government papers, if he has not done so already." And yet the calendar referred to is a remarkably good one.

Of the style of the book one can write only with envious admiration.



The thirteen-line account of Sir Francis Head and his place in history (p. 22) is one of many passages that are at once penetrating, complete, and remarkably concise. The book has neither index nor bibliography.

CHESTER W. NEW

*Canadian Public Opinion on the American Civil War.* By HELEN G. MACDONALD. New York: Columbia University Press. 1926. Pp. 8, 237.

THIS treatise has a wider scope than its title indicates. It deals, at some length, with the commercial relations between Canada and the United States previous to the Civil War, as well as with such events as the Fenian raids and the reciprocity negotiations after the war, and there is a useful chapter on the condition of the negroes in the British provinces from the earliest times. The attitude of Canada while the conflict was on is, however, the principal theme of the book, and the writer has evidently made a careful and accurate study of the newspaper files of the period as the best available source for ascertaining the sentiments of the people at large. Much of this evidence, especially in respect to Canada East, as Quebec was then designated, and the Maritime Provinces, is fresh and interesting. If we accept newspaper articles as convincing testimony,—and probably they reflected public opinion in 1860 more definitely than in 1926,—we may draw the general conclusion that the sentiment of the provinces was divided on the subject. There was a strong body of opinion amongst Liberals, marshalled by George Brown and the *Globe*, in favour of the North, while some of the Conservative newspapers, but not all, showed a bias toward the Confederacy. The tendency to state that the number of Canadians who enlisted in the Northern armies is a sure index of popular feeling at the time is in a measure fallacious, and Miss MacDonald has done well to set down the evidence for both views.

It may be that the book was intended to make the narrative especially clear to United States readers, and this would explain why so much political history has been incorporated, bearing only indirectly upon the matter under discussion, such as the annexation agitation of 1849 and the Fenian raids. In describing the latter episode unpublished material has been drawn upon with good effect.

On the whole, the book is a faithful and readable outline of an important period and written in no controversial vein. One or two statements will be challenged: Sir David Macpherson was never lieutenant-governor of Ontario (p. 34), and it is difficult to believe that exercise of the power to disallow provincial legislation, assigned to the governor-general in council, "practically means the Governor-General



and Minister of Justice" (p. 215). The fate of cabinets and parties has too often in the past turned upon the policy of disallowance to permit of its being so disposed of. The bibliography and index are both welcome.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

*"We Twa": Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen.* London: W. Collins Sons and Co. 1925. Two volumes. Pp. x, 358; 353.

THIS project of a co-operative autobiography and the manner of its writing, some chapters being written singly and others jointly, furnish a fitting mode of recording two careers of linked but distinct activity. Family life is the theme of half the pages. From the feudal background of early days, with respectful tenantry cavalcading to meet the young heir and his bride, the building up of estates, the deerstalking and grouse shooting, the stern Puritan discipline, with even Jane Austen's novels taboo, and the tragedy of the loss of John Campbell Gordon's two older brothers, down to the records of the doings and the perfection of the present-day grandchildren, the book abounds in glimpses of family relations which have had their share of sorrow but more than their share of intimacy and happiness.

Philanthropy is the second theme. Something of Lord Shaftesbury's mantle early descended on Lord Aberdeen, but it was Lady Aberdeen who found in this field the main outlet for her instincts of kindness and management. At Haddo House, an "Onward and Upward" association for rural maid-servants is organized; in London, Associations for Providing Seats for Shop Assistants, Missions to Costermongers, and Omnibus Men's Suppers are soon under way; in Canada, the National Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses form more lasting memorials. The misunderstanding and the gossip of unduly democratic privileges accorded to servants' hall which arose out of some of these activities are noted and explained.

From philanthropy to politics was an easy transition; Lord Aberdeen was a grandson of a prime minister—and, in his own phrase, was not "Liberalism the Christianity of politics," and Gladstone its prophet? The two viceroalties in Ireland and the governor-generalship in Canada are described with much detail of personal activities, but comparatively few references to political and party fortunes.

In spite of a somewhat diffuse and pedestrian style, the book holds the reader's interest because of the vitality of the writers' own interest in their family affairs and in the countless public activities of two useful and crowded lives. Over fifty full-page illustrations help to recreate the changing scene.

O. D. SKELTON

*Canada.* By LOUIS HAMILTON. Berlin: Ernst Wachsmuth. [1926.] 4to. Pp. xxxii, 288; illustrations.

MR. HAMILTON'S *Canada* is a collection of beautiful photographs of Canadian scenery, including every region except the extreme north. The most characteristic sights of the several regions are also included, such as wheat fields, elevators, catches of fish, the processes of lumbering. An admirable introduction gives a comprehensive survey of the natural features of the country and some of the main facts relating to climate, population, and economic development.

H. H. LANGTON

*Manitoba.* Par M. CONSTANTIN-WEYER. Paris: F. Rieder et Cie. 1924. Pp. 135.

*La Bourrasque.* Par M. CONSTANTIN-WEYER. Paris: F. Rieder et Cie. 1925. Pp. 248.

OF these two new books by the author of *Vers l'Ouest*, the former is undoubtedly and in every respect the better. The little volume, in its eight chapters, tells in effect of the author's arrival at, sojourn in, and departure from Manitoba. It abounds in those descriptions of nature's beauties and other aspects in which the author had shown himself a master in his first book.

Unfortunately, Mr. Constantin-Weyer's study of the events of which he writes, and of his fellow-men, is far from reaching the high standard of his paintings of nature's scenes. Those amongst us who have been personally acquainted with that brave soldier of France before he returned to his native land—to go through the whole of the war and emerge from it a hero with all kinds of glorious wounds and well-deserved decorations—will regret that the many vicissitudes through which he worked his way to the enviable post which he now occupies, instead of softening his heart to the failings of human nature, seem, on the contrary, to have embittered him to the point of jeering at the recollection of his adventures in the North West. Yet, in spite of his very evident desire to sneer at everything which may be held sacred by his Western companions,—be they old-country French, as he is himself, French-Canadians, or French Métis, as some of his nearest relatives are,—he cannot prevent his personality from being submerged in the magnitude of his subject. In spite of his real talent, his writings cannot help but give the final and lasting impression, that the subject which they cover is greater than their words and the ability of their writer to use them for the purpose of creating in his readers the unfavourable thoughts which it is evident he proposes to leave in them. Not only will the true Métis continue to live in the minds of scholars under an aspect entirely different from

that under which Mr. Constantin-Weyer is wont to present them, because he had an opportunity to mix only with a class of them which is no more representative of those people than the Apaches of Paris are representative of the French, or the lower classes in other nations typify their higher classes,—but the French-Canadians, for whose frugality, honesty, courage, and tenacity he has also but words of contempt, shall continue to prove themselves in every respect his superiors when it comes to conquering the soil of their native land.

Although in his announcement of his book, the author of *La Bourrasque* asserts that he has made no pretence at writing an historical work, it is clear that on the contrary his aim is precisely to furnish of his hero, who is none other than Louis Riel, a portrait totally different from that by which the Métis chief has hitherto been known, either by his friends or by his enemies. But Mr. Constantin-Weyer has so exaggerated his disparagement of the true character of his hero, that the effect will necessarily be the very opposite of what he set out to accomplish. Louis Riel, with his failings and in spite of them, will continue to stand before all as a powerful type of true patriotism, devoted to his own people even unto death.

If the writer of an historical novel may, to a certain extent, take liberties with the facts of his subject, there are some general data which he cannot be excused from ignoring or permitted to alter. In Mr. Constantin-Weyer's books such unpardonable errors abound to the point of literally discouraging the reader. A few instances will suffice. Everyone knows that LaVérendrye discovered Western Canada about 1740: the author of *La Bourrasque* makes him live before the time of Charles II of England and the Hudson's Bay Company. The North West Company, for him, is a French company. He places the celebration of the battle of the Boyne on July 1, and the feast of the Immaculate Conception on September 18. Imperturbably he mixes the dates of the 1837-38 Rebellion with those of the battles of Carillon (1758) and the Plains of Abraham (1759). We submit that the balance of his book, when it deals with the facts of his subject,—including the thawing of the Red River at the arrival of Wolseley in July, 1870,—may be gauged by this *aperçu* of his knowledge of Canadian and general history.

Because, apparently, during his residence in Western Canada, he became very intimately acquainted with a class of Métis who possessed little or no education, Mr. Constantin-Weyer would make his readers believe that Louis Riel and his chief lieutenants used the same broken language or *patois* which he heard his friends and relatives use, and he shows them planning their actions and holding their meetings with a total ignorance of or disrespect for parliamentary rules. He has, of

course, never attended any of the orderly meetings of the various Métis organizations; he has never conversed with such men as the late Joseph Riel, André Nault, Ambroise Lépine; he has never met Louis Schmidt, ex-M.L.A., Roger Goulet, public school inspector, Joseph Hamelin, M.L.A., Samuel A. Nault, the young, courteous, and able president of the Association Nationale Métisse, Alexandre Riel, Alexandre Nault, and many others. Had he attended such meetings, had he listened to the speeches of such persons, or talked with them, he would, we believe, have entertained a different view of his subject and realized that Louis Riel, who had followed a college course as complete and as thorough as the one which Mr. Constantin-Weyer may have been favoured with, could not possibly have used the rude language which is attributed to him. Moreover, the author of *La Bourrasque*, on pain of passing for an ignoramus, cannot be unacquainted with the writings of Louis Riel, which are all written in the best of French, as one, indeed, may judge by his "Message à mes frères" which the author reproduces at page 110 of his book. What then is his aim in distorting everything about the Métis chief? And why should he show him to the world with faults which only savages or the worst amongst ultra-civilized people possess? Ah! the explanation of all this is simple. It is to be found in this fact: that, like many others, Mr. Constantin-Weyer, in spite of all his meritorious actions for his own country, France, and in common with a small group of his own countrymen, who will not take the trouble of going to the bottom of the facts, systematically ignores everything worth knowing about French Canada and, strange enough, chiefly in the case of a brave soldier such as he has proved himself to be, reserves the whole of his admiration for the conqueror. Let the reader turn to the pages dealing with Donald Smith, Colonel Cameron, General Wolseley, and every one of the other English personages in his books, and let him notice how creeping and crawling the style of the author then immediately becomes.

Another defect of *La Bourrasque*, and, for that matter, of *Manitoba* and of *Vers l'Ouest*, is the incongruous language, often bordering on obscenity, which the author makes a practice of using. The reason for this, no doubt, is to appeal to the taste of the old-country French reader. There, also, the author lamentably misses his mark, for the best, the most popular novels published in France, while they may, here and there, contain more or less risqué episodes, have, however, always enough respect for their readers to cloak those episodes with proper language. By the way, to represent Louis Riel as imbued with exceptional sensuous propensities is, it seems, to forget (using the author's own words) that "so many grave thoughts solicited his mind

that they hardly left room in his imagination for love's intrigues" (*La Bourrasque*, p. 63).

It is to be regretted that Mr. Constantin-Weyer, with the really great talent which he possesses and the experience which he should have acquired during the few years he lived in the Canadian North West, should not devote himself to a more worthy task than that of ridiculing men and events of which, it is clear, he knows very little, if anything. He could, if he wished, render great service to the cause of the influence in this country of what is best in French thought, for instance, by limiting himself to those descriptions of nature's beauties and grandeurs in which he excels. As it is, we doubt very much that his books will ever be very much read. The Métis, whose susceptibilities are well known, will certainly refuse to read them; the French-Canadians would be shocked by the views expressed in them about everything that they hold most sacred; and the old-country French will hesitate because the events appear to be so out of the way and out of the ordinary, and the language of the characters sounds so strange. Lastly, who would take the trouble of translating them for the English reader, knowing how little he is interested by gossip and tittle-tattle?

A. H. DE TRÉMAUDAN

*The Glamour of British Columbia.* By H. GLYNN-WARD. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1926. Pp. ix, 238; illustrations.

THIS is an interesting and readable volume of the guide book type. The author has travelled over a considerable part of British Columbia, never, however, straying far from the railways and the motor cars. She has in vivid—sometimes over-vivid and exaggerated—style told of the life she has seen and led, and related the stories she has heard.

But it is a book without historical value, either present or prospective. Wherever it touches the history of the province it abounds in errors. In chapter iv the author has entirely overlooked Sir Alexander Mackenzie; she dates everything from Simon Fraser's time, twelve years later. Even when she touches "Twelve foot Davis", or Davies, as she calls him, whose name is written so large in the stories of Cariboo and Omineca, she leaves the impression that he belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company. Again she says that the Overland Telegraph line of 1864-66 began at Yale and ended at Dawson in the Yukon; it really began at San Francisco and ended, when the scheme was abandoned, at Fort Stager on the Skeena river. And Waddington's party was massacred in 1864, not in 1863. She fares no better with her fanciful derivation of Lillooet from the French *L'Allouette*, which is alleged to

mean "the swallow"; the word is of Indian origin and means "flower of waters" (see *Klatsassan*, by R. C. Lundin Brown, London, 1873, p. 147).

The book contains a map of British Columbia which will be found useful; and the thirty illustrations are new and valuable.

F. W. HOWAY

*The Early History of the Fraser River Mines.* By Judge F. W. HOWAY. Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. 1926. Pp. xvii, 126.

THIS volume has been issued by the Archives of British Columbia as Memoir Number VI. It is from the pen of His Honour Judge Frederic W. Howay and chronicles the gold rush to the Fraser River and the stirring events of the winter of 1858-59. Judge Howay has carefully edited the letters of Richard Hicks, Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie, and Chartres Brew to Governor James Douglas. These letters, which are preserved in the Archives of British Columbia, throw a vivid light on conditions in the infant colony of British Columbia during the first months of its career as an outpost of Empire upon the far-off Pacific coast. The introduction by Judge Howay clearly portrays the effects of the influx of thousands of gold-seekers, "many with unsavoury reputations—loafers and idlers, gamblers, roughs and toughs, San Francisco 'boatmen', ex-convicts and murderers", who sought the new El Dorado of the Fraser. Governor Douglas had the difficult task of establishing law and order among such men, "the lives of some of whom," as Judge Begbie has graphically stated, "would not be worth an hour's purchase in any street in San Francisco." How Douglas succeeded in his task, how ably he was assisted by Judge Begbie and Colonel Richard Clement Moody of the Royal Engineers, and how the notorious Ned McGowan was shown that British Columbia was not California—is the theme of *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*.

The central incident in the volume is the so-called "Ned McGowan War". Judge Howay has carefully collected in his introduction the chief facts of the life of "that arch-renegade Ned McGowan", who, after stabbing a Pennsylvania editor, and manipulating "the famous ballot-box with false bottom and sides" in California, became implicated in the murder of James King of William and was sought by the "Vigilantes" of 1856. Acquitted by a venal jury, McGowan became the publisher of a scurrilous newspaper in San Francisco until the intervention of the police ended this journalistic venture. Then McGowan joined the throng who were following the Golden Goddess to the bars of the Fraser.

The miners from California brought their disputes north with them



and attempted to continue their vendetta on British soil. Fort Yale was chiefly inhabited by former members or adherents of the "Vigilance Committee"; Hill's Bar, about two miles below Yale, by partisans of the so-called "Law and Order" party in San Francisco, to which McGowan and other desperadoes belonged. McGowan assaulted a certain Dr. Piper, a former "Vigilante", alleging that Piper and his friends were purposing to "construct something like a Vigilance Committee at Yale". Other assaults occurred, notably one by two American citizens, Burns and Farrell, on a negro named Dixon. It was this affair which led to the outbreak of the "Ned McGowan War". Two magistrates, Whannell at Yale and Perrier at Hill's Bar, each as tenacious of his supposed rights as he was ignorant of the law, entered into an altercation, which resulted in the arrest of Whannell in his own court at Yale by an armed posse, headed by McGowan, sent by Perrier. Whannell was taken before Perrier in his court at Hill's Bar and fined twenty-five dollars for "contempt of court". Whannell sent an inflammatory letter to Governor Douglas, claiming that the town and district of Yale were "in a state bordering on anarchy", and pleading for aid. Douglas acted promptly. Colonel Moody hurried to Yale, and ordered a detachment of the Royal Engineers to proceed to Fort Hope. Royal Marines and sailors were also in readiness. But nothing happened. The "war" was over. Colonel Moody and Judge Begbie took charge of the situation. British law and order had triumphed.

The facts of the "Ned McGowan War" have been set forth for the first time in the documents edited by Judge Howay. Previous to this many versions have appeared based upon newspaper sources or upon Lieutenant Mayne's *Four Years in British Columbia*. But no one had brought out the essential fact that the real cause of trouble was the animosities of the California miners. As Judge Howay has well stated in his introduction, "Judge Begbie's account will be taken hereafter as the correct story. His correspondence contains many sidelights upon the early administration of justice; in it can be seen from the outset that determination to maintain order and that stern impartiality which soon made it plain to all that the lawlessness of California could not be implanted in the soil of British Columbia."

The other papers in this collection show the men in authority during the gold rush attempting to control the miners, to collect revenue, and to administer justice. One of them, Richard Hicks, assistant gold commissioner at Fort Yale, was an incompetent grafter, but Chartres Brew, chief inspector of police, and Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie left their imprint on the history of British Columbia. From these letters one gets a real insight into conditions in the Gold Colony.



Two important documents, one of them now printed for the first time, are contained in this selection. The rare and only account of the inauguration of Governor Douglas at Fort Langley on November 19, 1858, is reproduced from the *Victoria Gazette*, and "Captain" Whannell's letter to Governor Douglas, "which set the heather on fire," is printed in full.

The illustrations deserve a word of mention. Practically all of them are contemporary. Two original drawings of Fort Langley, made in 1858 and 1859 respectively, by E. Mallandine, are especially interesting. The stern-wheelers, *Colonel Moody* and *Enterprise*, facing page 24, with their lofty smoke-stacks and pilot-houses high in air, give a vivid impression of the "wheel-barrow boats" of the period. The historic *Beaver*, the first steamship on the northern Pacific coast, is shown lying at anchor in Victoria harbour.

The volume is singularly free from errors or misprints. In his footnotes Judge Howay has made any necessary explanations, and has identified certain of the place-names. Any one who has attempted to identify the bars of the Fraser from the contemporary records will recognize the value of these footnotes. There is a short index.

W. N. SAGE

*Black Sunlight, a Log of the Arctic.* By EARL ROSSMAN. With an introduction by VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. New York: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 232.

THE author of this little book is a reporter who wields a cinematic camera as well as a pen. He spent nearly a year not far from Point Barrow on the Alaskan coast to study and take moving picture photographs of the Eskimo in their various avocations, and he seems to have succeeded in some measure. Unfortunately he succumbed to the passion for moving picture drama and spent much valuable time and energy in drilling his Eskimo friends to pose for him in various imaginary situations. So doubtless the moving picture shows will be producing a thrilling Eskimo drama in which one man will be "registering" consternation at being lost in a "faked" blizzard, another "registering" joy at being delivered from starvation by finding a fox in his trap, and the indispensable love-making will also be included. All of which will be essentially unreal and patently so, because the Eskimo are not yet consummate actors, and many valuable opportunities of photographing genuine Eskimo scenes will have been lost. Except that the Eskimo are the subject of the book it does not relate to Canada at all, as the author never came east of Point Barrow. Some of the manners and customs described are interesting and curious. For example, it appears that the Eskimo are

whist-players. The author and a friend were thoroughly beaten in a game of whist by two old Eskimo men.

H. H. LANGTON

*Teachers' Trails in Canada: An illustrated review of the Canadian tour of the British educationists' party, July-September, 1925.* Edited by A. H. GODWIN and FLORENCE B. LOW. London and Toronto: Dent. 1925. Pp. xxxi, 184.

THE tour of British teachers through Canada, in the summer of 1925, was planned by the Overseas Education League. The first organized visit of British educationalists to Canada, it had for its object the fostering of "mutual understanding through the influence of the teachers in their daily work in the schools". From the point of view of Empire, the plan was indisputably good, and if the result proves to be the enlightenment of the average Englishman with regard to Canada's status as a nation, her vast undeveloped resources, and her need for the right kind of immigrants, the game will undoubtedly have been worth the candle. And perhaps it is true that "no more fitting pioneers of a new movement—that of making Canada better known and understood, and of bringing before the youth of our country the boundless opportunities that this vast, fertile and scantily-populated land offers—could be found than teachers who have no axes to grind, and who are constantly being asked to advise concerning the future careers of their pupils".

The advantage of writing a book about the tour is scarcely so clear. In the last few years, the public has been so surfeited with impressions, written by English travellers after flying visits to North America, that *Teachers' Trails* probably finds itself thrust on a very critical market that is already over-crowded. In common with the Margot Asquiths and Chestertons, it demonstrates the folly of the premise that any country can be understood from the windows of an observation car. The British teachers may have been afforded "unique opportunities for seeing practically every phase of Canadian life and work, and of meeting in pleasant, friendly, social intercourse, all sorts and conditions of Canadian men and women". But scattering rose leaves in the paths of travellers scarcely promotes on their part a real understanding of the conditions and problems of a country.

The book is well printed, and some of the Canadian illustrations are excellent. It is rather a pity that the beginning is chopped up with forewords, messages, introductions, itineraries, and acknowledgements, which form a sort of rampart of obstruction to the prospective reader. Part I, "The story of our trail", told by Miss Low, covers the whole

tour thoroughly, and there is much needless repetition in the supplement of an entirely unnecessary Part II, called "Trailers' impressions", which adds very little but weariness on the side of the reader.

The book, so far as the outsider is concerned, might be vastly more interesting if much that is purely personal had been omitted. But such a use of the pruning knife would have obliterated the undoubtedly useful object of the volume as a diary for the members of the tour.

ALISON EWART

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

BUCKLE, GEORGE EARL (ed.). *The letters of Queen Victoria*. Second series: *A selection from her Majesty's correspondence and journal between the years 1862 and 1878*. 2 vols. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. xv, 637; 690.

Reviewed on page 234.

EWART, JOHN S. *Canadian nationalists* (The Outlook: British Empire Supplement, July, 1926, pp. 34-35).

A critical discussion of the status of Canada within the Empire.

FIDDES, SIR GEORGE V. *The Dominions and Colonial Offices*. London: Putnams. [1926.] Pp. 288. (7s. 6d.)

To be reviewed later.

HORNE, Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT. *Imperial connections* (United Empire, July, 1926, pp. 381-388).

A paper advocating imperial trade preferences.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Canada and the imperial problem* (The Outlook: British Empire Supplement, July, 1926, pp. 27-29).

A discussion of annexation, independence, and foreign policy.

LEWIN, E. (comp.). *A select list of recent publications contained in the library of the Royal Colonial Institute illustrating the constitutional relations between the various parts of the British Empire*. (Royal Colonial Institute Bibliographies, No. 2.) London: Royal Colonial Institute. 1926. Pp. 31.

A comprehensive bibliography.

SCHILLER, F. C. S. *Cassandra, or the future of the British Empire*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner. 1926. Pp. 92.

Reviewed on page 233.

STRATHSPEY, Lord. *Keep British capital in the British Empire* (Empire Review, July, 1926, pp. 12-15).

A discussion of finance as a bond of Empire.

WILLIAMS, BASIL. *The need of a comparative history of British and foreign colonial developments* (Contemporary Review, May, 1926, pp. 604-612).

An address at the American Historical Association at Richmond, Virginia, on December 29, 1924.

### II. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General history

*Books and pamphlets published in Canada, up to the year eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, copies of which are in the Public Reference Library, Toronto, Canada*. Supplement No. 2. Toronto: Public Library. 1926. Pp. 8.

A continuation of the bibliography of early Canadiana undertaken by the staff of the Toronto Public Library.

*More new light on the Verrazzano brothers* (Geographical Journal, June, 1926, pp. 574-575).

- A note on the discovery in the Museo Civico in Como, Italy, of a document which throws light on the lives and voyages of Giovanni and Gerolamo Verrazzano.
- MORICE, A. G. *Disparus et survivants: Etudes ethnographiques* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, mars-mai, 1926, pp. 65-94).

The first of a series of essays on the history of the North American Indian.

- ROWLAND, A. L., and MANHART, G. B. *Studies in English commerce and exploration in the reign of Elizabeth. I: England and Turkey: The rise of diplomatic and commercial relations. II: The English search for a north-west passage in the time of Queen Elizabeth.* Philadelphia: Press of the University of Pennsylvania. 1924. Pp. xviii, 189; v, 179; maps.

Reviewed on page .

## (2) New France

- HASENCLEVER, ADOLF. *Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Kanadas* (Hansische Geschichtsblätter, Band XXX, 1925, seite 261-268).

A discussion of an interesting document in the Archives Nationales at Paris, which throws light on the geographical knowledge about Canada which existed at the time of Jacques Cartier.

- LAUZON, RÈV L., O.M.I. *Un pionnier de Ville-Marie: Gilles Lauzon et sa postérité.* Edition de famille. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1926. Pp. 248.

To be reviewed later.

- Les prisonniers de la bataille des plaines d'Abraham* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mai, 1926, pp. 257-264).

A document giving a list of the prisoners taken by the British at the battle of the Plains of Abraham and elsewhere, who were in 1762 confined in various prisons in Great Britain and Ireland.

- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La milice de 1663* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1926, pp. 405-418).

Full documentary details about the first militia company organized in Canada, the "légion d'honneur" of Montreal in 1663, with the complete roll of enlistments.

- *Les procureurs fiscaux et royaux à Montréal sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1926, pp. 393-397).

A list of local officials connected with the administration of justice in Montreal during the French régime, with biographical details.

- *Les véhicules en la Nouvelle France* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juin, 1926, pp. 356-361).

A useful paper describing the different kinds of vehicles in use in New France.

- Mémoires de feu Monsieur Boucher, seigneur de Boucherville, et ancien gouverneur de Trois-Rivières (extraits)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1926, pp. 398-404).

Extracts from the unprinted memoirs of Pierre Boucher, who was governor of Three Rivers from 1652 to 1667.

- ROBINSON, PERCY J. *Creuxius* (Canadian Journal of Religious Thought, August, 1926, pp. 323-334).

An interesting paper on the author of the *Historia canadensis* published in 1664.

- ROY, P. G. *Mathieu Damours de Chauffours* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1926, pp. 385-392).

A biographical sketch of a member of the Sovereign Council of New France.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Quelques notes sur les intendants* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1926, pp. 442-443).

Some brief biographical notes relating to a number of the intendants of New France.

SPALDING, REV. HENRY S. *Life of James Marquette* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, July, 1926, pp. 3-17).

The first instalment of a series of papers on the life of the discoverer of the Mississippi, reprinted from a religious newspaper in Illinois.

WOLFE-AYLWARD, A. E. *The pictorial life of Wolfe*. Plymouth, England: William Brendon and Son, Ltd., Mayflower Press. [1926.] Pp. xiii, 211; 103 illustrations.

Reviewed on page 249.

### (3) British North America before 1867

BERNARD, ANTOINE. *Un Acadien lieutenant de Papineau: Louis Bourdages* (Le Canada Français, avril, 1926, pp. 530-544).

A biographical sketch of one of the political lieutenants of Louis Joseph Papineau.

ECKSTORM, FANNIE HARDY. *History of the Chadwick survey from Fort Pownall in the district of Maine to the province of Quebec in Canada in 1764* (Sprague's Journal of Maine History, April, May, June, 1926, pp. 63-89).

An account of a famous survey made after the conquest of Canada with a view to finding a feasible route from the Penobscot River to Canada.

GROULX, LIONEL. *Les "patriotes" de 1837 et les châtements de l'Eglise* (L'Action française, avril, 1926, pp. 217-231; mai, 1926, pp. 294-311; juin, 1926, pp. 347-354).

A series of three papers on the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward the rebels of 1837.

HOWAY, JUDGE F. W. *Sir Alexander Mackenzie* (British Columbia Historical Association: Third Annual Report and Proceedings, 1925, pp. 16-19).

A brief account of Mackenzie's life and work.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Maurice Morgann* (Bulletin of Historical Research, November, 1925, p. 132).

Corrections and amplifications of Morgann's life as it appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

MACDONALD, HELEN G. *Canadian public opinion on the American civil war*. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. CXXIV, No. 2.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1926. Pp. 8, 237.

Reviewed on page 254.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Où a été fondé la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste en 1834?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juin, 1926, pp. 331-336).

An inquiry into the circumstances under which the French-Canadian national society was founded in 1834.

*Royalistes français à Québec en 1795* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juin, 1926, pp. 321-330).

Some documents extracted from the provincial archives at Quebec, relating to some French émigrés who landed in Canada in 1795.

*Trois lettres de E.-B. O'Callaghan à François-Xavier Garneau* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juin, 1926, pp. 370-377).

Three letters written in 1846 by one of the rebels of 1837, who later became historian and archivist of the State of New York, to the French-Canadian historian, F.-X. Garneau.

*Trois lettres de M. L.-R. Chaussegros de Léry à l'honorable Louis de Salaberry* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mai, 1926, pp. 286-291).

Three letters, dated 1797, 1798, and 1800, written by one French-Canadian seignior to another.

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

ABERDEEN, Lord and Lady. *"We twa": Reminiscences*. Two vols. London: W. Collins Sons & Co. [1925.] Pp. x, 358; viii, 353; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 255.

HAMILTON, L. *Die Französer in Kanada* (Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, Juli, 1926, pp. 543-551).

A discussion of the place occupied by the French-speaking element in Canada.

SCLATER, J. R. P. *Some impressions of a new Canadian* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1926, pp. 241-246).

The comments of a Scottish clergyman who has resided in Canada for the past three years.

SOMERVILLE, R. S. *Is Canada becoming Americanised?* (Empire Review, June, 1926, pp. 537-540).

A discussion of the so-called "Americanization" of Canada.

STEVENSON, J. A. *Canadian nationalism* (Edinburgh Review, July, 1926, pp. 18-31).

A discussion of the political aspects of Canadian nationalism at present.

YEIGH, FRANK. *5000 facts about Canada for 1926*. Toronto: Canadian Facts Publishing Co. [1926.] Pp. xxiv, 80. (35c.)

The twenty-third annual edition of this useful compendium of facts.

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

HUBERT, PAUL. *Les Iles de la Madeleine et les Madelinots*. Rimouski: Imprimerie Générale de Rimouski. 1926. Pp. 252; illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

LE GRESLEY, R. P. OMER. *L'Enseignement du français en Acadie depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*. Bathurst, N.B.: Collège du Sacré-Cœur. Mamers, France: Chez Gabriel Enault. 1926. Pp. 246.

A dissertation, presented at the University of Paris for the degree of doctor of letters, dealing with the history of the French language in the Maritime provinces of Canada.

WEBSTER, J. CLARENCE. *History in a Government House*. [Halifax. 1926.] Pp. 16.

"A study of those who administered the government of Acadie, and that of Nova Scotia until 1784."

#### (2) The Province of Quebec

BAUDOIN, JOSEPH. *Notre bilan vie* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, mars, 1926, pp. 82-111).

A study of population in the province of Quebec.

COUILLARD-DESPRÉS, Abbé A. *Histoire de Sorel des ses origines à nos jours*. Montréal: Imprimerie des Sourds-Muets. 1926. Pp. 343; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 246.

LEMIEUX, L. J. *Glimpses of Quebec, old and new* (United Empire, April, 1926, pp. 211-217).

A discussion of the place occupied by French Canada in the life of the Canadian people.



LESAGE, JULES-S. *Notes et esquisses québécoises: Carnet d'un amateur*. Québec: Imp. Ernest Tremblay. 1925. Pp. 264.

A series of essays, most of them dealing with the history of art and painting in the province of Quebec.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les possesseurs de terre dans l'île de Montréal en 1673* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mai, 1926, pp. 265-279).

A roll of the principal inhabitants of Montreal in 1673.

MICHAUD, Abbé JOSEPH-D. *Le Bic: Les Etapes d'une Paroisse*. Deuxième Partie: *Un Siècle de Vie Paroissiale*. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1926. Pp. 250.

Reviewed on page 245.

[MONTREAL PRESS CLUB.] *1925 review*. Montreal: The Montreal Press Club. 1925. Pp. 55.

A small volume containing articles of various sorts on the province of Quebec in 1925, and sketches of the careers of a number of leading men in the province.

RINFRET, Juge THIBAUDEAU. *Le Juge Télesphore Fournier* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, mars, 1926, pp. 1-16).

A biographical sketch of a French-Canadian politician and judge of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

### (3) The Province of Ontario

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. (ed.). *Le centenaire d'Ottawa* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1926, pp. 449-512).

An entire number of the *Bulletin* devoted to the history of Ottawa, in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of its foundation as Bytown.

JAMIESON, ANNIE STRAITH. *William King, friend and champion of slaves*. Toronto: Missions of Evangelism. 1925. Pp. 209; illustrations.

The story (written by his niece) of the Rev. William King, who in 1848 brought a party of emancipated Negro slaves to Upper Canada and, obtaining a land grant from the government of the day, established the refugee colony known as the Elgin settlement. The book is based on the papers of William King which were deposited in the Dominion Archives. In style it is laudatory and intended to edify.

MIDDLETON, JESSE EDGAR. *Ontario under the French régime* (Americana, July, 1926, pp. 293-315).

A chapter reprinted from advance sheets of a history of the province of Ontario, by Messrs J. E. Middleton and F. Landon, which is announced for early publication.

### (4) The Western Provinces

BOGGS, THEODORE H. *Oriental penetration and British Columbia* (International Forum Review, July, 1926, pp. 11-19).

A brief discussion of Oriental immigration into British Columbia.

DEAVILLE, A. STANLEY. *The colonial postal systems of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1849-1871* (British Columbia Historical Association: Third Annual Report and Proceedings, 1925, pp. 45-59).

A history of the post office on the Pacific slope before the entrance of British Columbia into Confederation.

HOWAY, F. W. *The early history of the Fraser River Mines*. (Archives of British Columbia: Memoir No. VI.) Victoria, B.C.: The King's Printer. 1926. Pp. xxvii, 126; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 260.

LONGSTAFF, Major F. V. *The beginnings of the Pacific Station and Esquimaux Royal Naval Establishment* (British Columbia Historical Association: Third Annual Report and Proceedings, 1925, pp. 29-43).

An account of the history of naval defence on the Pacific coast of Canada.

MURPHY, Hon. DENIS. *The building of the Cariboo road* (British Columbia Historical Association, Third Annual Report and Proceedings, 1925, pp. 19-21).

A speech delivered at the unveiling of an historical monument at Yale, British Columbia, on June 27, 1925.

PIFES, NELLIE B. (comp.). *Articles in the Oregon Historical Quarterly relating to the Columbia River, Settlement of Astoria, Lewis and Clark expedition* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, June, 1926, pp. 214-220).

A useful exercise in the bibliography of the Pacific coast.

#### IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

BILODEAU, Abbé GEORGES-MARIE. *Pour rester au pays: Etude sur l'émigration des canadiens-français aux Etats-Unis; Causes; Remèdes*. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1926. Pp. 168.

To be reviewed later.

[CANADA: BUREAU OF STATISTICS.] *Economic position of the Canadian prairie provinces in 1923*. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1926. Pp. 14.

A survey of economic conditions in the prairies for the year 1923.

[CANADA: BUREAU OF STATISTICS.] *Municipal statistics, Canada, 1922*. Ottawa: Bureau of Statistics. 1925. Pp. 69.

A useful review of municipal statistics for 1922.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR.] *Coal mining industry in Nova Scotia: report of the Provincial Royal Commission*. Ottawa: Department of Labour. 1926. Pp. 31.

A valuable contribution to economic history.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR.] *Wages and hours of labour in Canada, 1920-1925*. Report No. 9. Ottawa: Department of Labour. 1926. Pp. 45.

A summary of recent labour conditions in Canada.

HAMILTON, LOUIS. *Canada als Auswanderungsland* (Koloniale Rundschau, Heft 5, 1926, seite 167-172).

A brief discussion of Canada as a field for emigrants.

JACKMAN, W. T. *Economics of transportation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1926. Pp. 818.

To be reviewed later.

LAMBART, H. F. *The conquest of Mount Logan* (Geographical Journal, July, 1926, pp. 1-26).

A copiously illustrated account of the ascent of Mount Logan, contributed by the vice-president of the Alpine Club of Canada.

LEFEBVRE, OLIVIER. *Les forces hydrauliques de la province de Québec* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1926, pp. 141-151).

A brief account of the water-powers of the province of Quebec.

McKAGUE, W. A. *The finances of the Canadian provinces*. Toronto: The Monetary Times of Canada. [1925.] Pp. 15.

A statistical pamphlet.

MUNN, HENRY TOKE. *The Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic* (Geographical Journal, May, 1926, pp. 474-478).

The views of an ex-trader with regard to the future of the Canadian Eskimo.

PAYNE, J. L. *What public ownership costs Canada* (National Business, February, 1926, p. 3).

A discussion of the deficits of the Canadian National Railways, with a map.

ROSSMAN, EARL. *Black sunlight, a log of the Arctic*. With an introduction by VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. New York: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 232.

Reviewed on page 262.

SAINT-PIERRE ARTHUR. *Le problème social: Quelques éléments de solution*. (Bibliothèque d'études économiques et sociales, publiée sous le patronage de l'École des Sciences Sociales, Economiques, et Politiques.) Avec une introduction par EDOUARD MONTPETIT. Montréal: Editions de la Bibliothèque Canadienne. 1925. Pp. 203.

To be reviewed later.

SCHUETTE, H. C. *Motor-bus transportation*. Part II: *Canada and Latin America*. (Trade Information Series, No. 404.) Washington: Department of Commerce. 1926. Pp. 602.

A valuable contribution to the history of modern transportation.

WINTERBOTHAM, Col. H. S. L. *The surveys of Canada* (Geographical Journal, May, 1926, pp. 403-420).

An account of the work of the Canadian Geodetic Survey, by an official of the Survey.

## V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

*Apothéose des bienheureux martyrs canadiens de la Compagnie de Jésus: Translation des reliques et tridium (12, 13, 14, 15 novembre 1925)*. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1926. Pp. 166.

An account of the proceedings connected with the beatification of the Jesuit martyrs in New France in the seventeenth century.

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Benjamin Sulte* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juin, 1926, pp. 337-347).

A biographical sketch of the late Benjamin Sulte, the historian of the French-Canadian people.

BELLERIVE, GEORGES. *Artistes-peintres canadiens-français: Les Anciens*. Deuxième série. Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1926. Pp. 78.

A supplement to a volume under the same title published by the author in 1925, and noticed by us in Vol. VII, p. 87. The present supplement contains biographical sketches of two French-Canadian painters, Thomas-Adolphe Rho and Napoléon Bourassa.

DES BOIS, JEAN. *Journal d'un étudiant*. Montréal: Editions Edouard Garand. 1925. Pp. 151.

The thoughts and observations of a French-Canadian ecclesiastic while on his vacations.

MAURALT, OLIVIER. *L'Œuvre des Bons Livres* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1926, pp. 152-177).

An account of the development of libraries and literary circles among the French-speaking people of Montreal.

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